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Edited for the
Academy of Political Science
by the Faculty of Political Science
of Columbia University

Introduction

Columbia 1968: The Wound Unhealed
LOUIS LUSKY
MARY H. LUSKY

Student Rebellion: Vision of the Future or Echo from the Past?
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Right Face, Left Face: The Columbia Strike
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A University Besieged: Nanterre, 1967-69
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Students on the Barricades: Germany and Austria, 1848
PRISCILLA ROBERTSON

Language and Politics: An Afterword
SIGMUND DIAMOND

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Introduction

In the months that have passed since the decision was made to devote a special issue of the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY to the subject of student rebellion in the universities, events have both validated that decision and given new urgency to it. San Francisco State, Cornell, Stanford, CCNY, Dartmouth, Harvard—the list grows longer, and as it does explanatory theories grow obsolete as it becomes apparent that conditions in the latest university to topple are not what the theories say they should have been. And yet, as the explanations prove to be inadequate, the need for explanation becomes more compelling.

Quaero—I seek to know—was the proud motto of the great historian Fustel de Coulanges. It might also be the motto of this special issue of the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY. To seek to know —and to carry out the search with devotion to the cause of dispassionate inquiry as the basis for judgment—has been the purpose both of those who have written for this issue and of those who have labored for it in countless other ways. To them all we give grateful acknowledgment.

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Columbia 1968: The Wound Unhealed*

If you had found the word to say,
The great king who in distress does lay
Would of his wound be fully healed.**
Perceval li Gallois, ed. Potvin, lines 6048-50

LOUIS LUSKY
Columbia University
MARY H. LUSKY
Wellesley, Mass.

A university is a political organism. To an extent, it resembles a municipal corporation such as a city or county. It has a territory and a population. There is a rule-making organ of some kind, whose rules effectively regulate major aspects of local life. The sanctions that the university can itself bring to bear in aid of enforcement are relatively mild, but in the rare cases where they do not suffice, it can resort to the legal apparatus of the larger society—to its police, prosecutors, and criminal courts for the control of conduct dangerous enough to warrant the imposition of penal consequences, and to the civil courts for the protection of more delicate and complex interests including rights of contract and property.

* The authors are indebted to Ruth A. Lusky, their wife and mother, for her advice and editorial assistance. Thanks are also due to the friends who have made available their collections of leaflets and similar literature, and to the library staff of Columbia Law School—particularly Mr. Samuel Cohen, who has served far beyond the call of duty.

** "And she greeted Arthur and all his household except Peredur [Perceval]. And to Peredur she spoke harsh and angry words. 'Peredur, I greet thee not, seeing that thou dost not merit it. . . . When thou wast in the court of the Lame King, and didst see there the youth bearing the streaming spear, from the points of which were drops of blood flowing in streams, even to the hand of the youth, and many other wonders likewise, thou didst not inquire their meaning or their cause. Hadst thou done so, the king would have been restored to health, and his dominions to peace.' " "Peredur the Son of Evrawc," *The Mabinogion*, trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, ed. David Nutt (London, 1902), 282.

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And yet a university differs from a city or county in significant ways. If members of its own population (and, perhaps, of the surrounding neighborhood) challenge the obligatory force of its rules and the authority of its rule-enforcers, its modes of response are limited by special considerations. The limits have been dimly sensed rather than articulated and understood. The proposition that a university may in fact be unable to assert its full legal rights (as a municipal government might do) without unacceptable damage to internal relationships essential to accomplishment of its educational objectives, has been vaguely recognized. It accounts for the traditional distaste for police intervention in campus problems. It may account, at least partially, for the frequent acknowledgments of duty to serve the national interest and the neighborhood welfare. But relatively little has been done to define the limiting factors in terms that permit comprehension of the university's actually available options and provide a rational foundation for considered choice among them.

Events at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 afford a basis for such an appraisal. We have seen a series of challenges to the status and powers of the university administration. Examination of the challenges, and the responses made, may provide a map of the crossroads at which Columbia finds itself. It may also show where each of the available routes leads.

As a convenient baseline, we shall adopt an initial posture of strict legalism. We shall appraise the successive challenges and responses as if the administration had been as free to enforce its own rules, and as fully obligated to do so, as are the mayor and council of New York City. By observing the occasions when compliance has or has not been insisted upon; by doing our best to comprehend the reasons for the course taken; by noting its consequences; and by visualizing the probable consequences of possible alternative courses, we may learn more exactly what kind of political organism Columbia University (and perhaps the American university generally) is and could be.

I

On April 9, 1968, classes at Columbia were canceled as a mark of respect for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who had been murdered

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five days before. A memorial service was held in the university chapel on the Morningside Heights campus. Over a thousand people filled the chapel, and perhaps a thousand others stood outside. President Grayson Kirk and Vice-President David B. Truman were on the dais, along with University Chaplain John D. Cannon and Harlem minister Moran Weston. Midway in the service, as Dr. Truman rose to deliver a eulogy, Columbia College junior Mark Rudd moved forward and took the microphone. In an uninvited speech lasting several minutes, he accused the university administration of racism and declared the service to be an "obscenity," "a moral outrage against Dr. King's memory." He then left the chapel, followed by about forty others. Leaflets in the same vein as Rudd's speech were distributed at the chapel door, an indication that the speech was part of a pre-arranged plan and not a flash reaction to sudden emotional stress.

Under the New York Penal Law (§240.20) one is guilty of disorderly conduct, a "violation" punishable by imprisonment for up to fifteen days, if

> with intent to cause public inconvenience, annoyance or alarm, or recklessly creating a risk thereof . . .
>
> 4. Without lawful authority, he disturbs any lawful assembly or meeting of persons.

And under §240.21 one is guilty of "disruption, or disturbance of religious service," a Class A misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment for up to a year, if he "makes unreasonable noise or disturbance while at a lawfully assembled religious service. . ., with intent to cause annoyance or alarm or recklessly creating a risk thereof."

That there was no prosecution, or even serious talk of prosecution, has been no occasion for astonishment on the part of those who live or work in New York City. New York is a remarkably lawless place. Over and above the rising incidence of murder, rape, and robbery, the more visible flouting of regulatory laws that are merely designed to help New York's millions to live in close proximity with reasonable comfort has become so common that expectation of enforcement is almost universally regarded as naive to the point of childishness. Everyman has seen the city paralyzed by unlawful economic strikes of subway workers, garbage collec-

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tors, school teachers, and other public employes who emerge with statutorily forbidden financial rewards that are devalued only slightly by limited fines against the unions, loss of the check-off privilege, and token jail sentences for a few union officials. Open defiance of the law by the police themselves has a particularly telling impact. They claim the right to strike. They have resorted to slowdowns—euphemistically called "job actions"—such as concerted failure to report for duty by reason of alleged illness (timed to coincide with collective bargaining moves). And the result is higher pay, not dismissal. To be sure, the strictures of the law are unblushingly applied to employe groups (such as ferry boat officers) so small that they lack the power to hold the city population for ransom; but this only drives home the lesson that the law does not mean what it says.[1]

On the homelier levels, the same lesson is daily taught to the public at large. For example, the enforcement of parking regulations on Morningside Heights, as elsewhere in the city, is laughable. Closely spaced signs proclaim the illegality of parking on one side of the street or the other (depending on the day of the week) between 11 A.M. and 2 P.M. The only visible result is that, during those hours, the "legal" side of the street is solidly (and illegally) double-parked. One who flags down a passing police squad car for help in extricating his own car, hemmed in at the curb, will be told that the police have no authority to move the offending vehicles—though each of the ubiquitous no-parking

[1] The New York statute forbidding strikes by public employes also forbade public authorities to make certain types of concessions, such as wage increases, in settling the illegal strikes. The city repeatedly ignored this provision. On March 13, 1967, a judgment was entered prohibiting the city from carrying out a settlement (with the Teamsters Union) that violated the statute. *Di Maggio* v. *Lindsay*, 53 Misc. 2d 209, 278 N.Y.S. 2d 302 (Sup. Ct. N.Y. County). Under threat of renewal of the strike by welfare workers, the legislature complied with the city's request for authority to grant the forbidden benefits. Laws of 1967, cc. 394, 395 (April 21, 1967). On May 24, because of the new statute, the court vacated its prior judgment. It criticized the city's "equivocal and unequal practice" but said that "the ultimate remedy" was "a matter for the electorate"; and it accordingly rejected the contention of the plaintiff, a ferry boat officer, that such a dispensation constituted unlawful discrimination. 53 Misc. 2d 1036, 281 N.Y.S. 2d 152. (On April 6 the highest state court had upheld the application of the statutory proscription to striking ferry boat officers. *Di Maggio* v. *Brown*, 19 N.Y. 2d 283, 279 N.Y.S. 2d 161, 225 N.E. 2d 871.)

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signs proclaims "Tow-away zone." The police will condescend to tag the offending cars, but only on specific request. And if one seeks a parking place on the restricted side of the street at 2 P.M., he will not find it. Only by taking a place at the curb before 1:30 P.M., and then sitting behind the wheel until 2 P.M. to avoid the illegality of "parking," can he hold his own against lawbreakers without breaking the law himself.

The grotesquerie of the parking regulations includes misfeasance as well as nonfeasance. If one finds his car tagged for illegal parking; if, believing his parking to have been legal, he declines the printed invitation to settle for a modest mailed fine; if he responds to the summons and confronts the author of the ticket in criminal court; and if he wins an acquittal because the judge agrees with his view of the law—the adjudication is meaningless. Should he park in the same place the next day he will find another parking ticket, signed by the same patrolman. Should he then write a complaining letter to the mayor, he will be visited by a sergeant who explains that the police have no way of knowing what the courts decide—and that even the particular patrolman who *heard* the judge's decision the day before "may have thought that another judge would decide differently on another occasion."

In short, a sort of "underlaw" is generally understood to prevail in New York City. There is little relationship between the law on the books and the law in real life. The actual limits of tolerance for anti-social behavior can only be learned by experimental probing.

Even if Mark Rudd had been a stranger to the Columbia community, it is doubtful that a criminal prosecution would have been attempted. Such a move might conceivably have resulted in punishment, after months or years of courtroom maneuvers. But the more immediate, and far more likely, consequence would have been a storm of indignant protest at the *discrimination* involved in prosecuting one whose action drew no blood, took no property, and was claimed to have been induced by worthy motives, while worse offenses were commonly ignored. The University, not Rudd, might have turned out to be the main loser.

As a student Rudd enjoyed a further advantage. Criminal prosecution would have been deplored as unnecessary because the

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University could have controlled him through its own disciplinary procedures. And so it could have. Or could it? And at what cost? Thereby hangs our tale.

II

For some time prior to April 9 Columbia Students for a Democratic Society (of which Rudd had become president in mid-March) had been trying to find out, through actions of gradually increasing offensiveness, the actual rules of conduct that would be applied to its efforts to destroy the power of the university administration. The SDS thought it possible that Columbia's internal rules, like those of the surrounding city, might not mean what they said. The motivation for the challenge is less than clear, because Rudd and other rebellious students proclaimed different objectives from time to time, as their tactical needs changed. Until April 1968 their attacks centered upon the University's alleged complicity in the Vietnam war. Then racism was added to the accusation. Later on it was asserted that democratic principle requires student participation in, or perhaps control of, all decisions that affect students. And from time to time it was declared that Columbia and other universities, being breeding grounds for leaders of a corrupt society, ought to be destroyed as an aid to the remaking of that society. Any or all of these ideas may have been entertained. Or perhaps the actual motivation was the simple adolescent desire to attain leadership for its own sake.

For the moment we forego the task of delineating the inner needs that prompted the rebellious effort. Our present interest is in evaluating the University's mode of response. For that purpose the essential facts are that the rebels (1) were attempting, for whatever reason, to question the authority of President Kirk and his staff to prescribe and enforce rules for the regulation of campus life, and (2) were ready to test the actual meaning of rules designed to channel protest into rational forms—forms characterized by civility of discourse, respect for opposing positions, and non-interference with the rights of other members of the campus community.

By April 9 those two essential facts had become quite clear. On

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February 28 about two hundred demonstrators organized by SDS had staged a sit-in at Dodge Hall, frustrating seven appointments between students and recruiters for Dow Chemical Company. The sit-in violated a rule made by the president on the previous September 25, forbidding picketing and demonstrations within university buildings. No disciplinary action was taken. On March 2 the indoor demonstration rule was broken again; a meeting of the West Side Community Conference in Ferris Booth Hall was invaded by an SDS group and was seriously disrupted by shouts directed at speakers Sargent Shriver (OEO Director), William F. Ryan (Manhattan Congressman), and Roger Wilkins (Justice Department attorney). This represented an escalation, in terms of the number of people inconvenienced. Again, no disciplinary action. On March 27 more than one hundred students led by Rudd circulated for half an hour through Low "Library" (long since converted from a library to the university administration building), which housed the offices of Dr. Kirk and Dr. Truman. They carried placards, chanted slogans, and employed a bullhorn (thereby violating a separate campus rule) in support of their objection —evidenced also by a 1,500-signature petition—to the University's affiliation with an organization known as the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), concerned with evaluation of new weapons and with other security problems. No disciplinary action on account of this behavior had been taken by April 9, when (at the King memorial service) the escalation for the first time plainly transcended the limits set by the criminal law.

One would have thought that such a milestone might provide an understandable stopping point; but, for thirteen days more, no disciplinary action was initiated against Rudd and his associates, and then only to deal with the March 27 demonstration. On April 22, after private hearings, six of the leaders were placed on disciplinary probation (a warning that a new violation will lead to suspension or expulsion) for the balance of the semester.

It is necessary to ask the reason for the administration's seeming languor. There was no doubt that SDS had repeatedly violated the indoor demonstration rule in order to challenge the power of the president to make it. That had been made clear beyond cavil by leaflets and public statements. Nor could it be doubted that the violations manifested a determination to intensify the chal-

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lenge by ever more disruptive and insulting actions. Why was the response so mild?

Most of the answer resides in the administration's conception of the University as a community of scholars that best performs its main job—the equipping of young people with learning and skills for effective performance in a social environment organized around sophisticated scientific techniques and subtle behavioral mechanisms—if its internal regulation is based, to the greatest degree possible, on invitation rather than command. The administration conceived its own primary role as that of a buffer between the untroubled academic enclave and the neurotic world outside: the world that pays only for satisfaction of immediate demands, glorifies wealth and power, scorns the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and has little patience with trial and error. Vis-à-vis the teachers and students who comprised the campus community, the administration saw itself as the provider of a laissez-faire milieu in which they could educate one another, each according to his own bent.

Rules were necessary, of course. The integrity of the degrees, on which depended the University's continued ability to attract exceptional people and financial support, had to be safeguarded by qualitative and quantitative standards of scholarship; a crowded campus needed rules in the nature of traffic regulations, lest the activities of some cramp the work of others; and, though to a diminishing extent, quasi-parental controls had to be provided for students whose families had sent them to Columbia in the expectation that a *gradual* transition to adult responsibilities would be provided—unless, of course, parents were notified not to expect such controls. But the making and enforcing of campus rules was regarded as a rather tiresome service, not as a source of pride and satisfaction. Unlike a mayor or a county executive, President Kirk viewed government of his community not as his primary task but as a distraction from his principal concerns—improvement of the educational offering and the raising of the money to do it with. The administration thought that, except for development and application of educational requirements, teachers would rightly regard it as a diversion from their educational work to be called upon for administrative tasks. As for the students, they were thought to be entitled to rules made by

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professionals rather than having to participate in campus politics as a means of self-defense against fellow-students more interested in realpolitik than in the less "relevant" business of classroom lectures and research papers.

Some elaboration of this picture will be offered later. For the present, the foregoing somewhat oversimplified sketch is sufficient for an approach to the question we have asked: Why was the administration so reluctant to take up the student challenge to its authority?

III

It may be helpful to start with a working hypothesis: Surrounded by a lawless city, and recollecting long decades in which campus rules had been obeyed as a matter of course, the administration allowed itself to forget a fundamental truth about *law*. Law, though it does rely on coercion for the exceptional case, is the most powerful agency of *non-coercive* social control that man has developed; skillfully applied, it induces compliance with prescribed rules of conduct without resort to a ubiquitous police apparatus and thus makes possible the open society in which men can go about their business free of the prying, heavy-handed controls associated with tight official restraint of deviant behavior. But it exerts its full strength only if a clear distinction is maintained between lawmaking and law enforcement so far as the relevance of dissent is concerned. On the lawmaking level, freedom to protest the existing rules and seek their improvement poses no threat; indeed, it is a useful safeguard against the promulgation or perpetuation of unwise regulations, and affords an occasion for explanation of the need for regulations that do not "carry their reason on their face." But on the enforcement level, trouble is borrowed if the binding quality of the rules is admitted to be dependent on their perfect rightness.

Trouble is borrowed because, in any complex society—even in societies far less complex than the campus community—it is never possible to convince everyone that the rules are perfect (and they never are); yet it is necessary for everyone to be able to act on the assumption that they will be generally obeyed by others. Absent such predictability, no one can plan and execute his own affairs; his personal autonomy, no matter how free of *official* control, is limited by the danger that his fellows will intrude

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upon him in unforeseeable ways. Or, to put it differently, the rules have a simplifying function. They make it possible to know the conditions of life and work, without inquiry into the multifarious facts and value judgments that have led to their establishment. The simplifying function is lost if the rules are not enforced as written—always with recognition that they may need improvement for the future, but without delay for re-examination of the facts and value judgments on which they are based.

The consequence of departure from this position is that the rules are reduced to the quality of a bargaining counter. Law is no longer to be obeyed simply because it is the law. The danger of punishment for infraction is one, but only one, factor in a calculus of threats and counter-threats marshaled to compel some desired result. What starts as a two-sided conflict between the authorities and the rule-breakers soon proliferates. Others, deprived of their ability to rely on enforcement, begin to organize self-help—to "take the law into their own hands"—and their emergence further complicates the situation. Constructive group activity is quickly drowned in factionalism.

All this is simple to the point of triteness. Every country constable knows it.[2] The savants who have focused their legal and sociological expertise on the Columbia experience certainly know it. It must have been known to Dr. Kirk and Dr. Truman, both of them distinguished political scientists. Yet, as will appear, all of them have spoken and written and acted as if the need for firm and impartial enforcement of rules were superannuated—displaced by a new mid-twentieth-century conception of law, based on a neo-social contract theory that would have startled Rousseau himself.

A slightly different hypothesis, which means about the same thing, is that the administration itself did *not* embrace the notion that a rule-violation is merely the starting point for free-wheeling debate on the justice of the rule, and for negotiation toward a

[2] Its importance was impliedly but unmistakably recognized by the drumfire attacks on the "legitimacy" of the administration and its rules, that were to be heard over and over from the campus rebels and their supporters during the ensuing months. Law that is merely *imperfect* has non-coercive force, but law that is not *legitimate* rests on *coercion* alone; some would go so far as to deny it the name "law," preferring to call it naked power.

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general consensus on the appropriate response to it. Rather, it may have been confident that such a position would not be taken seriously by any significant number of intelligent teachers and students; that SDS would quickly demonstrate to the whole campus community the incompatibility between SDS tactics and continued pursuit of educational objectives; and that SDS would wither away under the weight of virtually universal disapproval or indifference.

Either state of mind would account for the administration's self-conscious, almost apologetic, hesitation in the enforcement of campus rules. We now examine the further fruition of that hesitation.

IV

The April 22 issue of the bi-weekly newspaper published by the Columbia SDS propounded its challenge to administration authority in unmistakable terms. The publication's changed name, *Up Against The Wall*, advertised a posture of defiance and threat. The lead item was in the form of a letter from Mark Rudd to Dr. Kirk. Headlined "Reply to Uncle Grayson" and signed "Mark," it quoted and responded to two sentences of an address that Dr. Kirk had delivered at the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville, ten days before (and three days after the King memorial service):

> Our young people, in disturbing numbers, appear to reject all forms of authority, from whatever source derived, and they have taken refuge in a turbulent and inchoate nihilism whose sole objectives are destructive. I know of no time in our history when the gap between the generations has been wider or more potentially dangerous.

The remarks are interesting because they eliminate any doubt that Dr. Kirk understood the precise nature of the SDS challenge. And Rudd went on to prove that Dr. Kirk's understanding was correct.

In his published letter Rudd objected to the term "nihilism" as reflecting "inability to understand our positive values." Then he proceeded to describe those values in terms so general that neither Dr. Kirk nor any substantial segment of the campus community

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would disagree with them: "a rational basis for society"; use of our wealth to eliminate want; no "domination" of "people in other countries"[3]; pursuit of knowledge "for progress, not waste consumption and destruction (IDA)"; freedom of men "to keep what they produce, to enjoy peaceful lives, to create." But, aside from two favorable though cryptic references to "socialism," Rudd's only prescription for realization of those values was destruction:

> Your power is directly threatened, since we will have to destroy that power before we take over. We begin by fighting you about your support of the war in Vietnam and American Imperialism—IDA and the School of International Affairs. We will fight you about your control of black people in Morningside Heights, [H]arlem and the campus itself. And we will fight you about the type of mis-education you are trying to channel us through. We will have to destroy at times, even violently, in order to end your power and your system —but that is a far cry from nihilism.

The closing lines were an explicit declaration of hostilities:

> You call for order and respect for authority; we call for justice, freedom and socialism.
>
> There is only one thing left to say. It may sound nihilistic to you, since it is the opening shot in a war of liberation. I'll use the words of Leroi Jones, whom I'm sure you don't like a whole lot: "Up against the wall, motherfucker, this is a stick-up."

It is interesting to consider whether this diatribe violated §240.20 (3) of the New York Penal Code, which says that one

> is guilty of disorderly conduct when, with intent to cause public inconvenience, annoyance or alarm, or recklessly creating a risk thereof . . .
>
> 3. In a public place, he uses abusive or obscene language, or makes an obscene gesture.

Obviously the language was abusive and obscene. Probably the requisite intent existed. Possibly the "public place" require-

[3] Dr. Kirk, at Charlottesville, had referred to "the need for this country to extricate itself as quickly as possible from its current involvement in Vietnam. No other item on the national agenda can be dealt with effectively until this has been done. Not one of our great social, economic, or political problems can be made manageable until this conflict can be brought to an end."

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ment was satisfied, though this is less clear; the statutory language is arguably directed against oral expression only, not publication. But it also seems likely that a constitutional defense, based on the clear and present danger rule, would have been upheld—*unless* there was reason to believe that Rudd and the SDS really had it in their power to cause "public inconvenience, annoyance or alarm" by means of the "Reply to Uncle Grayson"; and this is most doubtful.

On the other hand, the letter left nothing to be desired as evidence of the intention underlying Rudd's subsequent actions, and perhaps the actions of his ten colleagues whose names appear with his on the masthead as "Staff for this Issue." Also, the question remains whether the April 22 publication, even though not criminal, afforded a basis for expulsion from the University. Though dated April 22 the publication appears to have been actually distributed on or before April 20, since it carried a notice of an SDS conference scheduled for that date. We have already noted that on April 22 Rudd, together with four of his SDS associates and the chairman of an anti-draft organization, received a private hearing on charges arising out of his March 27 rule violations. All six were placed on disciplinary probation. *Up Against The Wall* contains a number of complaints against the impending discipline, on the grounds that (1) it was discriminatory to bring charges against the leaders of the demonstration only, rather than against the whole group of demonstrators; (2) the administration's failure to proceed against two earlier violations of the indoor demonstration rule had created doubt as to the meaning of the rule; and (3) it was wrong to deny an open hearing.[4]

[4] The significance of this latter point is made clear by the following: "We demand an open hearing before students and faculty for all. Any hearing must consider the political actions and affiliations of the University, as well as any illegal infractions of 'University ground rules.'" The eagerness of SDS for a forum where it could meet the administration as a political opponent on equal terms, each accusing the other in the presence of "the people," strikes a reminiscent note with those who have traced the rise of National Socialism in Germany. It should be understood that an "open hearing," in SDS terminology, is not the equivalent of "public trial" as that term is used in the Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution. As was indicated in the SDS literature at the time, and later was demonstrated at an attempted disciplinary hearing on November 19, 1968, an "open hearing" is one which must be held in a hall so large that all interested persons may attend, and which is not

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The question is whether more definitive discipline than probation could rightly have been predicated upon the defiance manifested by the April 22 *Up Against The Wall.* In this connection, the nature of university discipline should be kept in mind. It is based upon the idea that, although acceptance of a student by the Admissions Office creates a heavy presumption that he has potential for constructive participation in the campus community, that presumption is rebuttable. If he sustains the burden of proving that he is unable or firmly unwilling to conduct himself in a manner consistent with pursuit of the collective educational objective, he is to be excluded from the campus community. Because it is affirmatively desirable, from an educational viewpoint, for him to experiment with the forms of social interaction, overzealousness—perhaps even to the point of such egocentric insensibility as was displayed at the King memorial service, or such defiance of authority as was manifested in the March 27 demonstration—ordinarily brings no more than a tentative adjudication having the effect of a warning that the limit has been approached. But if the student's *reaction to disciplinary proceedings* is to deny the obligatory quality of the rules, and affirm an intention to persist in their breach, he can only be understood as having rejected membership in the campus community on the terms available to him. Suspension or expulsion would seem to follow as a simple concurrence in his own virtual withdrawal.

Traditionally the disaffiliation process has been administered not as a punitive measure but as a means of terminating an unfortunate association with a student who has shown that he can neither give much of value to his fellows nor receive much of value from them. It is a divorce for incompatibility, a regretful acknowledgment that the Admissions Office has made a mistake. And, being the University's only effective method of dealing with student misfits, it underpins the rules that enable some thousands

limited to consideration of charges against the student, but is open for the airing of any charges against the University that the student or any member of the audience may wish to bring. The November 19 experience also showed that such an "open hearing" can be terminated at the will of the audience through concerted disorder, including shouting, throwing of paper airplanes, beating of shoes on desks, and jumping onto the bench to wrest the gavel from the chairman's hand and kick the tribunal's papers to the floor.

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of scholars to live and work together without fouling each other's lines. Until recently no question has been raised as to its moral rightness. But the terms of the selective service law, which equate student status with temporary freedom from the draft (in a context of rising resentment against a war whose necessity no one has been able to explain to the satisfaction of many Columbia people), have given rise to the question whether suspension or expulsion—at least in the case of an able-bodied male, which most Columbia students are—is not in fact a sentence to military service with its danger of death or disfigurement and, worse, its obligation to kill upon command.

It is logically possible, and perhaps logically necessary, for the University to disclaim responsibility for whatever mistakes the national government may be making. And yet, the fortuitous gravity of the consequences of suspension or expulsion has made such tough-mindedness difficult indeed. In fact the existence of the draft has led the university administration to adopt any available pretext to avoid the moral responsibility for those consequences. Thus external pressure has greatly impaired the correspondence between declared campus rules and the actually operative standards of conduct. And so, given the belief of Rudd and his associates that the University was an evil force, it was not illogical for them to probe for the real limits of its tolerance for disruption.

The unequivocal defiance expressed by the April 22 *Up Against The Wall* might have provided a reasonable basis for concluding that Rudd, at least, had sustained his burden of proving himself ineligible to continue as a student.[5] And yet there were reasons to hesitate—reasons connected with the function of a university as incubator of constructive innovation, of trial and error approach to large problems. Especially the endowed private institutions have traditionally provided shelter for experimentation with new and outlandish proposals for dealing with intrac-

[5] The authors disagree as to whether it *would* have provided a reasonable basis. M.H.L. says no, on the ground that expulsion should not be predicated on words (as distinguished from conduct), especially where there is no rule forbidding the words. L.L. would concur if the question were one of criminal liability, but believes that a voluntary affiliation can rightly be terminated on clear proof that one party has repudiated essential terms of the affiliation.

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table enigmas, not only of natural science but of social relations as well. In this last third of the twentieth century our ability to manage the physical environment has far outrun our ability to live in peace with each other; and it is right for the university to go far in indulging seemingly weird and destructive modes of attack on admitted evils.

For a thoughtful description of the evils to which the SDS claimed to be reacting, we turn to an address given by United States District Judge Marvin E. Frankel to the New York County Lawyers' Association on November 21, 1968. For several reasons his remarks come with telling force. He is a Columbia alumnus, having graduated from the Law School in 1948. For some years before 1965, when he ascended the bench, he was a professor there. On July 9, 1968, it fell to his lot to adjudicate a demand for a federal court injunction to stop Columbia's disciplinary proceedings against the rebels; and he sternly rejected the contention that the right of dissent includes the privilege of violent disruption. (*Grossner et al.* v. *The Trustees of Columbia University*, 287 F. Supp. 535.) But here is his reaction to fan mail he received after that decision:

> My handful of admirers seemed pleased that I had struck a long-delayed blow for Truth and the National Security. The general drift was summarized by a friend who announced his favorable reaction and said: "That ought to teach the little bastards a thing or two."
>
> . . . I had held that the students were not entitled to an injunction. I had not meant to hold that they were wrong, and their adversaries were right, in all possible respects.

He went on to state the position of the students more eloquently than they had done themselves. He began by saying that the rebels, though a minority, were a highly significant minority:

> They are significant, first, as activists always are in a world where passivity is the normal condition of majorities. They are significant, secondly, as those close to the scene report over and over again, because they number among them a disproportionately high share of the brightest, the most sensitive, and the least selfish members of their generation. Their significance is obvious, moreover, in the weight of their continuing impact far beyond the confines of their campuses.

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> . . . I think we might do well to assume that these are not monsters and that if they feel themselves driven to behave so badly and use such dirty language, something we'd do well to identify is probably driving them.

Judge Frankel then turned to that task:

> . . . in the days of my youth there was a war called World War II, and most of us on this side thought it was worth the commitment of our young lives, and yet most of us did not sing and dance all day long over the prospect and the actuality of doing our military service. I wonder, then, how many of us have failed to wonder at least once how it must be for those youngsters who think this not only a senseless war, but an evil one. Forget for a minute whether they're right or wrong. Concede only that they could think this way without being utterly vicious. And that many of them do. And then picture how the long nights of decision might feel as the moment approached for the giving or refusal of consent.
>
> There are other things that are related and equally obvious. The high hopes of the civil rights movement have not been realized at a pace or on a scale likely to inspire the young. The stately rush of "all deliberate speed," however solid its justifications when it was decreed, has seemed like a slow crawl even to many of the more elderly among us. The high promises of burgeoning science and technology for a saner, better, more rational life for more people do not seem somehow to get fulfilled on a large and widely convincing scale.

He went on to probe deeper:

> They are the first generation baby-sat by TV. They were born and brought to young adulthood in the short space of years which later historians may identify as the period when the swollen powers of Madison Avenue reached the stage of full ripeness and the early beginnings of rot. . . .
>
> Their generation learned in childhood that smoking seems to be related to cancer, and not related to anything really helpful, and they've been watching at the same time while the advertisers explain that cancer is good for you.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> From what they say and do, the youthful rebels seem to include as a central count in their indictment of the older generation the charge of hypocrisy. I'm suggesting there may be evidence, which is not clearly insubstantial, to support the charge.

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> There is other evidence. . . . There are the ardent parents supporting civil rights with all their hearts and some of their money, and then suffering trauma when they face as a real live fact the subject of interracial dating. . . .

The bill of particulars proceeded to "a closely related phenomenon . . . a quality that may perhaps be described as a highly developed talent for thinking the unthinkable and tolerating the intolerable":

> We're in the second decade now of friendly familiarity with the games and game theories of people like Herman Kahn and the wizards of the RAND Corporation. We've come to be on comfortable terms with notions like "kill and over-kill," "megatons," prospective casualties calculated in the tens of millions, and the like. All this may be necessary, even inevitable, and entirely rational on the premises that govern most of us. But it has at least a superficial look that is ghastly—enough to make it plausible that sensitive young people might be led in numbers to "turn off" or turn violently against what might look to them like a monstrous system. It is perhaps no coincidence that our particular, and particularly intense, experience of the war between the generations comes in an era of the "theater of the absurd," the "anti-novel," "anti-hero," and just the other day "anti-memoirs."
>
> Another item, considerably less dramatic, struck me recently as a possible entry in the same category. This might appear on its surface to be an instance of our ability not only to accept the unacceptable, but to seek it and defend it as inevitable. It was reported last month that the Business Council, comprised mainly of the presidents and board chairmen of large corporations, has concluded that the next Administration may be required "to force unemployment as high as 5½ per cent—or about four million persons, compared with two and three-quarter million now. . . ." These executives, gathered at Hot Springs, Virginia, found it necessary to resign themselves to the prospect that over a million wage-earners would have to be deprived of jobs as the only effective way of regulating our delicate economy. They may well be correct. After all, the surgeon doesn't cut off his own leg because the patient has gangrene. But naive youngsters, and even naive oldsters, might pardonably recoil from accepting their conclusion.
>
> Those of us who spend hours of each week stranded along the tracks of the New Haven Railroad see enormous amounts of work to

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> be done—building, rebuilding, cleaning and de-uglifying. All over the country, to say nothing of the world, there are needs for millions of hours of hard, constructive, creative labor. We are about to colonize the moon. It is incredible that we must accept, as the best we can do, planned unemployment as a recurrent regulator of the economy. . . .

Finally, an admonition: "We must do what we can to teach our children. We must at the same time do all we can to learn from them."

It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is the line of thought that led the Columbia administration to delay expulsion of the students who, in the April 22 *Up Against The Wall,* had so explicitly defied its authority. It chose to adhere to the customary two-step procedure (expulsion or suspension only for persistence after warning), supposedly in the hope that its warning might possibly be effective. That this was a forlorn hope indeed became clear the next day.

The April 22 publication carried notice of a meeting at the sundial (a customary locale for outdoor campus gatherings), at noon on April 23 to "protest the I.D.A. and University repression." The SDS plan was to continue its probing challenge by conducting a new indoor demonstration in Low Library, in support of demands that Columbia end its ties with IDA; that the six students who had been put on disciplinary probation "be granted their rights to open public hearings before students and faculty with full rights of due process"; and that no one be "punished for opposing Columbia's unjust policies." But before the meeting began new forces stirred.

V

The administration's slowness and mildness in reacting to the SDS challenge had stimulated a self-help movement among other students who considered the latter's activities a threat to themselves. Calling themselves "Students for a Free Campus," they distributed a leaflet on Monday, April 22, expressing disgust with "an environment where you cannot listen to a guest speaker and be sure he won't be physically harassed by SDS" and "where your sacred privacy of worship is allowed to degenerate into political showmanship." The leaflet took note of the planned sun-

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dial meeting at noon on Tuesday and called for supporters to assemble and frustrate the SDS plan. About two hundred of them did appear and formed a cordon around Low Library—which the administration had closed in anticipation of invasion, but whose locked doors were not protected by city police or campus guards.

We must examine the administration's mode of response to this development. The appearance of the anti-SDS group had been well advertised in advance and the administration knew it was coming. Indeed, it asked teachers to be on campus that Tuesday noon, mingle with the students, and try to discourage them from fighting each other. The only other significant response, aside from the locking of Low Library, was to invite SDS to a parley. When its group, about two hundred strong, assembled at the sundial at noon (together with a larger number of curious onlookers), Associate Dean Alexander Platt of Columbia College delivered to Mark Rudd a letter from Dr. Truman stating his willingness to meet the group in nearby McMillin Theatre at once to discuss their demands. After consulting with other SDS leaders, Rudd told Dean Platt that they would not accept the invitation unless the meeting were chaired by a student, and were authorized to adjudicate—presumably by popular vote—the cases of the six students who had been placed on disciplinary probation the day before. Dean Platt disclaimed authority to agree to this, but made a counterproposal that the suggestion be taken up with Dr. Truman at the meeting. The leaders conferred again. Then Rudd read the letter to the crowd; boasted that the administration had been driven to "close down" (lock) Low Library; and emphasized the effectiveness of group action: "After we've gone to the son of a bitch a million times and he hasn't responded to us, now he asks to meet with us in McMillin. Our force has brought him down." There followed a town-meeting discussion of the type which SDS has adopted under the name of "participatory democracy," and while it proceeded a runner was dispatched to verify that the doors of Low were in fact locked as the Truman letter had said. When a hand signal provided verification, a College junior named Tom Hurwitz terminated the discussion by marching toward Low, shouting, "Did we come here to talk or did we come here to go to Low?" The crowd followed him.

The noteworthy aspect of the administration response is that it

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avoided an assertion of authority. The closing of Low, the dispatch of teachers to argue against inter-student combat, and the invitation to McMillin Theatre told SDS, in effect, that its demands had been *rendered negotiable* by its mobilization of a fairly small group of angry students. With rare and unimportant exceptions, this readiness for negotiation of any and all demands that are backed by a show of force has characterized the administration's actions (though not always its words) from that Tuesday morning down to the present writing. Was it the only response that could reasonably have been made?

The situation was this: A substantial number of students had challenged the administration's authority to make and enforce rules. The number was small in comparison to the whole campus population, but too large to be dealt with in the fashion of a permissive parent ready to make allowance for the pains of growing up. Another substantial number of students had arrayed themselves around Low Library with the avowed intention of preventing, by physical force, a new rule violation. The likelihood of serious injury in such a combat between participants who (though unarmed) lacked training in the difficult art of repelling or subduing an adversary without maiming him, was great. On the other hand, locked doors of a university building—not built to withstand assault—could easily be breached unless guarded. The university guards, though uniformed and armed with nightsticks, are essentially watchmen rather than peace officers. Only the city police had the training necessary for the job.

It is therefore to be acknowledged that, if the demonstrators were to be physically repelled, the police would have to be called. It is also true that the administration had good reason to doubt that the police could be relied upon to do an intelligent and well-disciplined job—a problem that will be discussed later. On the other hand, it was by no means clear that the demonstrators would charge a police line; until then the escalation of their challenge, though it had entered the criminal area as early as April 9, had not reached the level of destructive attack upon person or property. Given the choice between use of the police and at least temporary renunciation of the power of law, it cannot be said that the latter choice was plainly to be preferred.

No one knows exactly what would have happened if the admin-

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istration had followed other possible courses. Let us set up a couple of illustrative models. The administration might have: (1) Directed that the outdoor campus area south of Low Library, of which the sundial is the center, be vacated by all persons whose presence there was not required for attendance at class or similar school business—the order being made known by leaflet and bullhorn, starting half an hour in advance of the noon meeting hour. (2) Given notice, by similar means, that any student violator of this order would be temporarily suspended immediately upon his refusal to depart after being individually directed to do so by a member of the administration wearing described identification; would thereupon be regarded as a trespasser, and (like outsiders who might be present) would be prosecuted for criminal trespass; and would be granted an early disciplinary hearing at which he would be reinstated if, and only if, it were found that he had not knowingly violated the order. (3) Equipped administrative personnel with cameras for the identification of offenders, and provided them with university guards as bodyguards. (4) Summoned enough city police to protect the doors of Low and to effect any necessary arrests of persons failing to clear the campus. (5) Left the doors of Low unlocked. (6) Carried out the announced intentions, cooperating with the prosecuting authorities in the event of any arrests, and refraining from efforts to dissuade them or the courts from performing their legally prescribed duties. (7) Expelled from the University any student on disciplinary probation who, after a hearing, was found to have engaged in an overt attempt, while on probation, to violate a university rule. (8) Proceeded, without delay, to explain in detail to the whole University through the campus radio and press, and all other available media, the reasons for the measures taken and the impossibility of preserving an open campus community without excluding from it those who denied the obligation to comply with its rules—simultaneously affirming a readiness to establish channels and procedures for public airing and impartial evaluation of any complaints as to the wisdom of those rules or any departures from sound administrative practice in their application. No one can be sure what the result of such a course would have been.

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Nor does one know what would have happened if, believing that such stern measures were disproportionate to the need and too likely to occasion disapproval by persons unfamiliar with the facts, the administration had simply awaited the outcome of the new challenge, confining itself for the moment to (1) the careful observation and recording of rebellious action with a view to later disciplinary proceedings, and (2) the provision of medical help to those who might be hurt in a fracas between the opposing student groups. Such a course would have been more consistent with the traditional policy of avoiding resort to the police, and settling disciplinary problems within the University; and it would have had the public relations advantage of basing disciplinary action on acts of violence rather than failure to comply with preventive measures.

Perhaps the SDS challenge would have escalated to the seizure of university buildings and personnel even if SDS had not been encouraged to believe that *the authority of the university administration was negotiable.* No one knows. And, unless and until this anti-legal proposition is repudiated—unequivocally and unselfconsciously and without apology—by the administration or some university organ developed to take its place, the negotiability of the University's authority will remain in some doubt. True, governments—even the most libertarian—have learned that compromise of this sort is pragmatically unwise. It is a case where principle must be adhered to—if not for its own sake, then because (as Benjamin Franklin said of honesty) *it is the best policy.*

But it may be that the presence and critical importance of one special group within institutions of higher learning, *the faculty,* precludes resort to such a posture. Perhaps a group of highly specialized scholars, dedicated to rational solution of all problems, will not tolerate the notion that controversy as to the rightness of rules must be limited to the lawmaking level. If so, universities may be unable to avail themselves of the power of law, properly so called, and must develop other regulatory methods. Let us reserve the question for the time being, until we have reviewed the sequel to the Tuesday noon gathering at the sundial.

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VI

As has already been observed, the administration's hesitance in asserting its authority had stimulated the organization of a student group prepared to undertake limited vigilante activity in support of the published rules. That development was known to the administration as early as April 22. What it did not suspect was that, as the realization that the rules might be paper tigers dawned on deeply dissatisfied elements of the campus community other than the SDS, they, too, would cluster together and attack the University as the real or supposed source of their own real or supposed grievances. The first of such groups to make an effective appearance was the Student Afro-American Society, theretofore a relatively inactive organization comprised of most of the eighty Negro undergraduate students and at least some of the Negro candidates for graduate and professional degrees.

The disaffection of this group arose from psychological pressures more severe than the generalized disgust with society that was professed by the SDS. Along with the rest of America, Columbia had been slow in recognizing that preservation and protection of the open society requires full acceptance of the large Negro minority into the bond of general kinship. A few years ago, however, the University began a determined effort to reach out for black students; and then for the first time they were received in substantial number.

The number was limited by the high academic standards for admission. More Negroes than whites had been badly handicapped by inferior public school education and by debilitating family environment. Nevertheless, by making the not unreasonable assumption that a young man or woman who has labored under such a handicap can be expected to make up lost ground in years spent on a campus where he is treated as a full member of the community, the University could and did accept quite a few non-white applicants without significant degradation of educational standards.

The administration, and probably all or nearly all of the faculty, took it for granted that the melting pot would do its work as silently and inevitably with dozens or hundreds of Negro students as it had with the occasional non-whites who had trickled

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through the University (and often to distinguished achievement in adult life) during the preceding decades. They were expected to embrace their equal status eagerly, accept integration into the general society, and emerge with the usual determination to improve it with the aid of their new-found knowledge and skills. The main problem, it was thought, was to help them make up their lost ground.

Ten years ago, and maybe even five, this might have been so. But now there is a complication. Sparked by such firebrands as the late Malcolm X and the very much alive Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, a growing number of Negroes have renounced belief in the possibility, and even the desirability, of cooperative membership in the general community—at least for the next years or decades. Instead, they have proclaimed the necessity and the efficacy of organizing into a self-contained faction under leaders who will seek benefits for Negroes by threat and demand rather than by appeal to general standards of non-discriminatory fairness. They may realize that they lack the physical power to stage a successful revolt, that a showdown battle with the white majority would result in repression at best; conceivably, in simple slaughter. But they also know that a highly organized urban society is a brittle affair, dependent as it is on the continued flow of essential goods and services; that a determined minority can disrupt that flow with little difficulty; and that, if it does, the open society must *close* in self-defense—forsaking individual freedom and moving in the direction of the police state. To be sure, Samson may perish with the Temple; but his tormentors, since they have more to lose than he, may accede to his demands rather than relinquish or devaluate their own precious heritage.[6]

Spurred by the growing realization that the purging of racial prejudice from American society is the work of generations rather than months or years, and encouraged by the guilt-ridden softness of the response to their excursions into incivility and violence, the black militants have moved forward under the slogan of "black power" and, in recent days, the more sophisticated watchword of "black identity."[7] Claiming that the hope of relief from

[6] Louis Lusky, "The King Dream: Fantasy or Prophecy?" *Columbia Law Review*, LXVIII (1968), 1030.

[7] As is true of many slogans, these two are given different meanings by

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the burden of skin color through operation of conventional political mechanisms is so remote as to be valueless, they have resolved to seek at least some concessions through their power to destroy the open society—opting for half a loaf that they can enjoy in their own lifetime. And, since that power depends on the credibility of a threat to mobilize Negroes in large numbers for disruptive action, they have appealed to the more promising Negro youths for solidarity with their race as a matter of primary loyalty.

The full force of the appeal is felt by Negro university students. Gladness at being received into the campus community, with its promise of later entry into the more lucrative and influential levels of business and professional life, is tempered by uneasy doubt that one may be a renegade, an "Uncle Tom," a traitor to his race in its hour of need. Actual or fancied slights at the hands of color-conscious teachers and fellow-students (can they escape their cultural backgrounds any more than can the blacks?) are taken to outweigh the far more prevalent readiness to associate in easy equality, and are taken to prove that the desperation of the militants is well founded. Many of the Negroes withdraw into the encapsulated solitude of black organizations such as SAS and cast about for ways of reassuring themselves and their home communities that they have not "passed over."

The cause that SAS seized upon was opposition to Columbia's construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park near 113 Street, about a block southeast of the campus. That a fighting issue could be built on such a basis is an interesting if depressing reminder that the utility of an action or event as a *casus belli* depends little on its rightness or wrongness. Later on we shall inquire why the issue was so broadly appealing. For the purpose of our present evaluation of the administration's response to challenge, it is enough to say that the gym project was unquestionably legal; that Columbia had solicited and obtained over five million dollars in contributions, over a period of more than five years, for

different people. "Black power" is used by some to mean the mobilization of Negro power at the polls; "black identity" is used by some in the same way that orthodox Jews use the term "non-assimilation"—to connote preservation of distinct cultural identity. As the black militants use the terms, however, they mean other things as well.

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use in construction and maintenance; and that the gym was deplored by the SAS and others for the principal stated reason that it exemplified a general administration attitude of arrogant indifference to the welfare of nearby residents (many, but by no means all, of whom were non-white and relatively poor).

For some years after the gym project was authorized by the New York State Legislature in 1960, after about two years of preliminary negotiation between Columbia and the city, there was little vocal opposition. Continuing criticism was expressed by a hardy band of conservationists who resist on principle any incursion upon the city's irreplaceable treasure of open parkland, and who were predictably irreconcilable. But no one claimed that the gym was an affront to Negroes. Indeed, it had the enthusiastic approval of Negro political leaders, such as State Senator James L. Watson—who represented the Morningside-West Harlem area, and who introduced the 1960 enabling legislation—and Manhattan Borough President Edward Dudley.

In 1961 the city and Columbia had concluded a contract whose essentials were: (1) Columbia would build a gym for the use of neighborhood children, according to specifications prescribed by the city. (2) The gym would be built into the side of a cliff in the park at 113 Street, a site having minimal utility for recreational purposes other than alpine rock climbing (not a favored form of recreation in nearby Harlem and Morningside Heights). (3) Columbia would be privileged to build, on top of this facility, a separate gym for use of its own students. (4) Columbia would provide maintenance for the entire facility, and would also furnish coaching services and equipment for the city gym. (5) Columbia would have a long-term lease on the land, and would pay such cash rent (fixed at three thousand dollars a year) as would cover the difference between the value of the building and services it was to give, and the value of the leasehold interest it was to acquire. (6) Columbia was to have five years to seek the necessary money through contributions; and if, after that time, it elected to proceed, construction would be started by the end of a sixth year.

In the summer of 1964 the smoldering unrest in Harlem—immediately east of Columbia, and separated from it only by the precipitous hillside (some one hundred feet high) that comprises

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most of Morningside Park—erupted into riot. Since World War II Harlem had received hordes of refugees from the hard discrimination of the deep South and the underdeveloped economy of Puerto Rico, and by 1964 it had achieved the seething rootlessness of a full-fledged urban ghetto. In this fertile soil the angry teachings of black militancy flourished; and the Columbia campus, visible on the heights above, was a constant reminder of the general society's affluence and its self-righteous callousness to desperate distress.

In such a context it was perhaps inevitable that demands should arise for Columbia to use a part of its seemingly limitless resources of money and professional manpower to help its impoverished neighbors. It so happened that these demands were crystallized into an organized movement against the gymnasium by the advent of one Thomas P. F. Hoving on the political scene. In 1965, at the age of thirty-four, he became Parks Commissioner under the newly elected Mayor John Lindsay. In a series of free-wheeling public statements he proclaimed his support of the absolutist conservationist position and his unwillingness to believe that the 1961 gym contract had settled anything. His later disclaimers of responsibility for incitement of unlawful obstruction can most charitably be interpreted as an expression of genuine surprise at the violence of the forces he had touched off. What was probably intended as a routine effort to build a public reputation as a giant-killer through criticism of his predecessors—in this case, for their neglect of conservationist principles—turned out to be the very catalyst that was needed for concentration of the springs of rage upwelling from Harlem. His affirmation that the gym project was wrong in principle, that it was a bad financial deal for the city and conversely a bonanza for Columbia, and most of all his official pronouncements that the 1961 contract could and should be renegotiated to satisfy what he called "community sentiment," lent indispensable and otherwise unavailable respectability to an anti-Columbia crusade.

Since Mayor Lindsay's administration had acceded to office by election and not by revolution, and was therefore bound by city contracts already made, Columbia urged upon him the impropriety of such conduct by a member of his cabinet. The result was that Hoving was told to be quiet; but neither he nor the Mayor re-

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pudiated what he had said. And on Morningside Heights the murmurs grew. Neighborhood protest meetings were held. Pickets marched. Leaflets proliferated. In Harlem most people had never heard of the gym, and most of those who had—including a number of ministers who thought the gym a better place than the streets for their young people—were in favor of it. But their political leaders, sensing a chance to win something extra for their constituents, began to be heard. And the Columbia administration, mindful of the scornfulness toward legal obligation throughout the city, sought to buy peace. After conference with Negro political leaders, including State Senator Basil Patterson, State Assemblyman Charles Rangel, and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, the 1960 contract was renegotiated in 1967 (1) to enlarge the city's portion of the gym by adding a swimming pool, and (2) to extend until early 1968 Columbia's deadline for beginning construction.

The trustees were at least arguably within their legal rights in thus enlarging Columbia's obligation. As custodians of trust funds donated for educational purposes, the trustees have a legal duty not to use them for other purposes. Fiduciaries lack the broad freedom in the use of trust funds that they have with respect to their own private property. For example, they would clearly have risked personal liability at the suit of the State Attorney General —official watchdog of trusts and corporations established for charitable, educational, and similiar public purposes—if they had used university money for the worthy but unauthorized purpose of helping the deprived children of Harlem by building a swimming pool there. But they do have some leeway in making practical judgments as to what *non-university expenditures* are necessary for *university purposes*, and it was not clearly irrational for them to believe that the addition of the swimming pool for neighborhood children was the most economical way, and an efficacious way, to facilitate completion of an installation needed by the school.

To say that the trustees' action was rational is not to say it was wise. Even in the summer of 1967, no crystal ball was needed to show that the gamble was a poor one. There were three adverse considerations: First, those who purported to speak for residents of Harlem and Morningside Heights had no objectively definable

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mandate from their constituents and could not get one, because the constituency as a whole had no means of expressing itself. Even the elected officials had no specific mandate from the voters concerning the gym. It may be assumed that the spokesmen were in touch with a number of the more vocal individuals and opinion groups; but, lacking the authority to make a binding agreement on their behalf, the spokesmen could offer no more than their own individual acquiescence in the renegotiated contract, plus a prediction that it would satisfy enough of the objectors to reduce the danger of vandalistic obstruction to an acceptable level.

The second difficulty was that a neighborhood swimming pool, useful though it might be, would hardly dent the massive misery of the ghetto. Nothing short of all-out resort to governmental resources, backed by the taxing power, held any hope of defusing the explosive dissatisfaction produced by century-long frustration of the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War Amendments to the Constitution. It was therefore to be expected that a concession by Columbia would not lead to amicable settlement but, by demonstrating the efficacy of neighborhood pressure, would stimulate additional demands for diversion of educational funds to alleviation of social distress.

The third difficulty was that the spokesmen themselves were unwilling to accord more than grudging approval. Their posture, at least for bargaining purposes, was that the 1961 contract (though concluded after hard bargaining and public hearings) had lost moral if not legal validity by reason of the later awakening of black militancy with its demand for a voice, perhaps a controlling voice, in determination of the form as well as the substance of all things affecting non-whites. The logic of this premise carried far beyond the limited concession of a swimming pool. It could be satisfied, if at all, by no less than joint or complete control of the entire gymnasium facility by "the community" and by devotion of no less than an equal portion of the space to neighborhood use. Having taken this position, adorned with a facade of plausibility by the Hoving pronouncements that public land ought never be diverted to private use, the spokesmen could not urge their constituents to be satisfied with a city gymnasium surmounted by a Columbia gymnasium five times larger and under university control. They could not explain that the trustees would

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have been guilty of a breach of trust, rendering them subject to personal liability, for allowing a facility constructed with Columbia money to be relinquished to outside control, or for using Columbia funds to build and maintain a city facility costing more than the city would pay for (by granting the use of the land). Any such effort at pacification would have meant repudiation by the local residents in favor of more vigorous leadership.

One other factor, whose existence and importance are evident now but could not be easily perceived in 1967, is that most of the neighborhood opposition did not really relate to the gym at all. The gym was, rather, a symbol of diffuse anger directed at the whole relationship between Columbia and its environs. Had the gym issue not been found, some other would probably have served. Displays of temper find their own rationalization, and by 1967 the temperature of the neighborhood had risen to such a level that whatever Columbia did or failed to do was attacked as wrong.

The pertinent fact is that the gym provided SAS with an issue suitable as a vehicle for demonstrating (1) the unity of Negro students with their fellow-blacks outside, and (2) their readiness to prove their manliness[8] by defiance of authority. Shortly before the April 23 gathering at the sundial, the SDS (which, after some earlier flings at the race problem, had withdrawn to concentrate its fire on militarism) made a marriage of convenience with SAS. The two organizations joined forces to block construction of the gym (ground for which had been broken on February 19, shortly before the contractual deadline requiring Columbia to commence construction by February 28) as well as to attack Columbia's alleged complicity in the Vietnam war, which had been a prime target for SDS but not SAS. And the speakers who addressed the sundial group before discussion of the Truman invitation included the president of SAS, sophomore Cicero Wilson.

Within an hour or two Wilson was to reject SDS leadership as ineffective, and take over the initiative for SAS. His noon remarks, however, were directed not against the gym, but against the denial of an open hearing for the six students who had been

[8] For examples of manly conduct under difficulties, and an appraisal, see Louis Lusky, "The Stereotype: Hard Core of Racism," *Buffalo Law Review*, XIII (1964), 453-56.

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placed on disciplinary probation the day before. He scornfully accused the white protesters of being themselves racists and declared that their apathy toward the needs of black people would lead to insurrection, but he appeared to be ready to follow them if they could be lashed to meaningful action:

> How many black faculty do you see at Columbia? What percentage of the school population is black? How much information is being disseminated into the community so that they will understand what's going on in this world of social change? You people had better realize that you condone Grayson Kirk with his rough-riding over the black community. But do you realize that when you come back, there may not *be* a Columbia University? Do you think that this white citadel of hypocrisy will be bypassed if an insurrection occurs this summer?
>
> . . . you should support the efforts of SDS to get an open hearing. If Columbia is right, let them prove it.

He also said, "Now if you want a free campus, don't stand out here and riot today. *That will not complete anything.*" Looking back, one sees this plea for *results* as a possible key to the audacious course that SAS was soon to follow. The fact was that its members had more at stake than the whites. They had to prove that they were not a new and larger crop of "Uncle Toms" but an advance guard spearheading a demand that Negroes be forthwith and thenceforth looked upon with *respect* (brotherly concern being evidently too much to hope for)—an advance guard determined to win that respect by demonstrating courage and will and ability to get things done. They may have shared the SDS attitude toward the Vietnam war, but they had the wit to realize that nothing done on Morningside Heights was likely to affect that war in any direct way. For them, disruption of campus life was acceptable only if tied to an objective that was limited enough to be achieved, and whose achievement could be claimed by the disrupters as their own accomplishment.

After Dr. Truman's invitation to meet in McMillin Theatre had been spurned, and Tom Hurwitz had started the march toward Low Library, there ensued an hour or more of opportunistic rowdyism that revealed the inability of Rudd and his colleagues to do more than make a large noise, damage a bit of off-campus property, and pick a fight with the police. They climbed the wide

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steps in front of Low; scuffled slightly with the cordon of hostile students; moved around the right end of the line and made an abortive effort to force the southeast door to the Security Office, headquarters of the campus guards; and split into two groups, of which one went to the gym site and one returned to the sundial.

The former group, two hundred to three hundred strong if curious onlookers be included, straggled east from the campus to Morningside Drive, down the Drive to 113 Street, and through an open gate in the steel fence surrounding the area where bulldozers and other heavy machines were doing their site-clearing work. They tore down about forty feet of the fence; fought with the handful of policemen who tried to clear them away; attacked one policeman who had arrested a white College sophomore named Fred Wilson, and unsuccessfully endeavored to rescue Wilson from custody; injured three policemen seriously enough for hospital treatment; and, about 12:45 P.M., stopped to take stock. Rudd spotted College Vice-Dean Thomas Colahan and commanded: ". . . you have fifteen minutes to get that guy [Fred Wilson] unbusted. Get up to Low Library and see Truman now." When Dean Colahan did not obey, Rudd led his followers back to the campus where they found the sundial group just leaving for the gym site after thirty minutes or so of war-dance oratory. Rudd spoke once more, revealing some discouragement at the apparent fiasco and suggesting the possibility of a student strike the next day. Then Cicero Wilson addressed the group, this time in a different tone.

He was plainly disgusted at the aimlessness and ineffectiveness of the SDS mob, and made a declaration of black leadership: ". . . the black students on this campus are no longer going to sit back and let this shit go on. SDS can stand on the side and support us, but the black students and the Harlem community will be the ones in the vanguard." He was followed by William Sales, a Negro graduate student in international affairs, who appealed for unity of whites and blacks in an attack on the establishment wherever it might be reachable, adopting the thesis that all evil emanated from a single source:

> If you're talking about identifying with the Vietnamese struggle, if you're talking about supporting German students, you don't need to

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> go to Rockefeller Center, dig? You don't need to go marching downtown. There's one oppressor—in the White House, in Low Library, in Albany, New York. You strike a blow at the gym, you strike a blow for the Vietnamese people. You strike a blow at the gym and you strike a blow against the assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. You strike a blow at Low Library and you strike a blow for the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Zimbabwe, South Africa.
>
> You did pretty well today. Hope it's not an isolated incident. It was beautiful. It was almost soulful. All we need is some sophistication—and some organization. The only way you win in a technological society is by your superior organization and superior commitment. And that's what we need. . . .

This clear statement of the premise for opposition to the gym—simply that it was a project desired by the University and was a reachable part of the evil power structure—was to become obscured during the weeks and months that followed, when campus blacks were virtually silent (preferring action to words) and the whites and off-campus Negroes were indulging themselves with a bewildering profusion of narrower rationalizations. Some of these rationalizations were based on fantasy, such as the claim that it was an insult to Harlem for the two separate gym facilities to have separate entrances—a "front door" for Columbia students on Morningside Drive, facing west toward the campus, and a "back door" for neighborhood children (at the lower level where the city gym was), facing east toward Harlem. Some of the rationalizations were based on bizarre propositions of political principle, such as (1) the contention that Morningside Park—a city park—was "part of Harlem" and that the gym was an encroachment by white Columbia upon black territory, and (2) the contention that any facility built on public land must be devoted at least half to community use (so that it was morally wrong, and perhaps illegal, for the Columbia facility to be several times larger than the city facility). The proliferation of such ideas was perhaps to be expected, in view of the difficulty of stretching the mind to grasp the broad, simple, blunt premise on which the Negro students operated—that there was "one oppressor," that Columbia was a part of that oppressor, and that frustration of any reachable Columbia project was therefore a stroke for freedom.

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The events of the next eighteen hours were sufficient to escalate a minor disorder into social disintegration of the campus. The two key developments were the occupation and barricading of Hamilton Hall (the main classroom and faculty office building of the College) as a black fortress, and the commission of an additional crime that was serious enough to make further offenses against property and privacy appear as mere peccadilloes by comparison—namely, the imprisonment of the acting dean of the College as a hostage. The details have been documented elsewhere. It is interesting, however, to trace the steps by which the small but singly motivated SAS group made use of, and established its dominance over, the gaggle of narcissistic windmill-tilters who belonged to or sympathized with SDS.

After Sales had called for organization against the "one oppressor," Rudd spoke:

> We don't have an incoherent mob; it just looks that way. I'll tell you what we want to do. We want to win some demands about IDA, we want IDA to go. We want the people under discipline to get off of discipline. We want this guy who got busted today to get the charges dropped against him; to get unbusted—I guess that's how you say it. We want them to stop the fucking gym over there. So I think there's really one thing we have to do and we're all together here; we're all ready to go now. We'll start by holding a hostage.

He went on to propose seizure of a hostage from the *College* administration (housed in Hamilton Hall, about seventy-five yards away) since the *University* administration in Low Library had proved impossible to get at. And the crowd—which included large numbers of opponents as well as sympathizers—moved into the lobby of Hamilton.

About ten minutes later, at 1:55 P.M., Acting Dean Henry Coleman returned from lunch to find his office door beset by a mob. Rudd invited him in, and he went. He was imprisoned there for the next twenty-five hours or so.

In terms of the criminal law, a significant escalation had occurred. Aside from the offenses involved in destruction of the fence at the gym site and fights with policemen, there had been a large-scale violation of §240.10 of the Penal Law, which provides a sentence of up to three months (as a Class B misdemeanor) for

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unlawful assembly: "A person is guilty of unlawful assembly when he assembles with four or more other persons for the purpose of engaging or preparing to engage with them in tumultuous and violent conduct likely to cause public alarm. . . ." The leaders of the mob had also violated §240.08, which provides a sentence of up to a year (as a Class A misdemeanor) for inciting to riot: "A person is guilty of inciting to riot when he urges ten or more persons to engage in tumultuous and violent conduct of a kind likely to create public alarm."

Lawless New York tends to condone such offenses as these. But even in this fun-loving, tolerant city, the taking of hostages is disapproved. Section 135.05 of the Penal Law declares unlawful imprisonment in the second degree to be a Class A misdemeanor and defines the offense quite broadly: "A person is guilty of unlawful imprisonment in the second degree when he restrains another person." (Under §135.00[1] the term "restrain" connotes intentional, substantial, and knowingly unlawful restraint.) Moreover, §135.10 makes unlawful imprisonment in the first degree a Class E felony (punishable by a sentence of up to four years), defining the offense as follows: "A person is guilty of unlawful imprisonment in the first degree when he restrains another person under circumstances which expose the latter to a risk of serious physical injury." It would probably be a jury question whether the circumstances under which Dean Coleman was imprisoned were dangerous enough to raise the offense from the second to the first degree. There is little doubt that if a jury had returned a verdict of guilty on the felony charge, its verdict would not have been set aside as unsupported by the evidence.

The very enormity of the offense appears to have led Dean Coleman to refrain, for a time after his release, from saying publicly that he had in fact been imprisoned—from denying the widely propagated assertion that he had been free to leave at will. His reluctance to expose students to a felony prosecution is interesting. It is of a piece with the gingerliness with which the administration responded to student crime throughout the period of disorder. For present purposes it is enough to make clear the unmistakable fact that the dean was indeed held hostage against his will.

The ninety minutes after he entered his office were used by the

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rebels for organization of an eight-student steering committee which included Brown and Sales of SAS (Wilson was added later), and SDS leaders Rudd, Nick Freudenberg and Ted Gold. The committee formulated six demands: (1) general amnesty for the demonstrators and revocation of the disciplinary probation imposed the previous day, (2) repeal of the rule against indoor demonstrations, (3) cessation of work on the gym, (4) open disciplinary hearings, (5) complete disaffiliation from IDA, and (6) an effort by Columbia to effect dismissal of criminal charges against persons arrested at the gym site (that day and previously). At this time, too, SAS appealed for support from SNCC, CORE, the United Black Front, the Mau Mau Society, and similar Harlem groups.

Then, at about 3:30, Dean Coleman emerged from his office. A student named Stuart Gedal read the six demands to him and requested an answer, saying that the demonstrators would stay put until the demands were met. The dean responded, "May well be. Am I to understand then that I am not to leave this building?" Gedal said yes, and then appealed to the crowd—most of whom vociferously agreed, though some did not. A debate ensued, in which Sales and Wilson spoke against release. Sales argued, "If we let the Man go, he'll be going home to eat a nice dinner, go to bed and he'll act like you don't exist. And you won't exist. . . . We want you to keep Coleman in his office and let him sweat." Wilson added that holding the hostage was their only bargaining point. A vote was taken, and a majority opposed release.

A leaflet distributed next day on the campus not only dispelled any lingering doubt as to the involuntary nature of the dean's sojourn in Hamilton, but served the important purpose of letting everyone know the extent of the escalation. Entitled, "What We Want" and signed by SDS and SAS, it undertook to explain "why we and hundreds of our fellow students took the actions we did: tearing down part of the fence . . ., occupying Hamilton Hall and not permitting Columbia College Dean Coleman to leave his office." Then, after a detailed attack on Columbia's alleged racism and use of violence, it went on: "So when the administration says 'Let poor Dean Coleman go; don't hold him prisoner by force,' we say, 'Let Fred Wilson (the arrested demonstrator) go;

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he's held prisoner in *prison;* and don't hold half the SDS steering committee hostage with expulsion, the draft, etc. hanging over their heads.' " Another leaflet, addressed to the faculty and distributed at the same time over the signature of Columbia SDS, also explained that "we are forced to hold Dean Coleman in his office" because, "with the Administration possessing the power to suspend us or to use police at any time, holding the Dean unfortunately becomes a major source of our bargaining power."

Meanwhile, the Hamilton Hall operation had changed from a bi-racial *sit-in* to a Negro *occupation.* Throughout Tuesday afternoon the demonstrators and counter-demonstrators had milled about in the lobby but had not kept students and teachers from their classrooms and offices; and classes continued. At 4:30 Dean Coleman had come out to tell the group that Dr. Truman was willing to meet with them immediately in Wollman Auditorium on the southeast corner of the campus; but the invitation was declined unless amnesty were granted first, "as a show of good faith." Amnesty was not forthcoming. Posters bearing portraits of Lenin, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, and Che Guevara were put up. Food and blankets began to appear. The counter-demonstrators started to trickle away. A few teachers came to try their hand at ending the demonstration through moral suasion, failed, and left.

In the course of the evening the SAS appeals to outside organizations bore fruit. A number of black militants from Harlem came in and announced that "the Harlem community is now here." The word spread that they had brought guns and knives with them; one came attended by three large bodyguards. At about 9 P.M. six Negroes threw out of the building five counter-demonstrators who had remained as a protective guard at the door of the dean's office, and a new guard of blacks took their place. At 10:30 it was announced that the two side doors had been locked and that the other door, in the front of the lobby, was being restricted.

A black caucus was formed, and spent the night deliberating on tactics. The upshot was that, after protracted discussion in which the SDS pleaded not to be evicted, the blacks ordered the whites out of the building; and they left at 5:45 A.M. Some went home, but about a hundred decided to take a building of their own. By breaking two glass doors they gained access to Low Li-

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brary through the Security Office (cutting a lone university guard in the process—which was at least a Class A misdemeanor under §120.00 of the Penal Law) and occupied the offices of Dr. Kirk and Dr. Truman.

After the whites had left Hamilton, the occupants barricaded the building by piling office furniture and equipment against the doors. From that time on the occupation was conducted under tight military discipline. No occupant was permitted to speak to an outsider except through a four-man committee of student leaders; the leaders themselves disclaimed authority to do more than receive outside reports and proposals and relay them to the occupying forces for communal consideration and decision; and communication of any sort was confined to a few so-called press conferences (consisting only of the reading of prepared statements) and parleys with the handful of Columbia emissaries and trusted outsiders who were granted entry. Consequently, relatively little is known of the details of life on the inside during the next days. For example, it is not known whether the entire band desired to remain until amnesty or arrest, as the leaders effectively insisted, or whether they were kept in line by threat of ostracism or worse as a penalty for defection. For present purposes, the important fact is that they did stand pat on amnesty until the police arrived six days later.

As a demonstration of solidarity with their race, of stoicism in the face of danger to their careers, of abiding suspicion of all things white, and of conviction of the need for Negro self-sufficiency, their performance left nothing to be desired. The intended message was conveyed. But their performance did raise the question whether *any* terms can be found on which Negroes can bring themselves to participate in the general community of the University, accepting a cooperative rather than a bargaining relationship with administration, faculty, and fellow-students. We shall see how the administration's reluctance to accept a negative answer to that question, coupled with its inability to develop a workable affirmative answer, aggravated its problem of containing the ever broader assault upon its authority.

Let us pause to assess the original Hamilton sit-in and the subsequent barricading of the doors in terms of the criminal law. It has sometimes been asserted that no crime was committed

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when the demonstrators entered the lobby, because registered students have an implied license to enter the lobbies of university buildings and do not become trespassers unless the University has directed them to leave and they have refused. The point is arguable, but probably unsound. The known rule against indoor demonstrations was a prohibition against entry into a university building *to conduct a demonstration there* and was a limitation on the general license possessed by students for other purposes. But whether or not the students *entered* lawfully, criminal trespass clearly occurred when they *remained* after the known closing hours.

Under Penal Law §140.10, one is guilty of criminal trespass in the second degree (a Class B misdemeanor—three months maximum sentence) "when he knowingly enters or remains unlawfully in a building. . . ." Moreover, under §140.20, "A person is guilty of burglary in the third degree when he knowingly enters or remains unlawfully in a building with intent to commit a crime therein." Inasmuch as the taking of a hostage is a crime, those who entered Hamilton Hall for that purpose would seem to have committed burglary in the third degree, a Class D felony (maximum sentence, seven years).

The barricading of the building, of course, eliminated any doubt as to the commission of trespass. Whatever license the students had to enter, it did not include permission to exclude others. Aside from this, however, it is doubtful whether any additional crime was committed under present New York law. There is a possibility that taking possession of a building would be grand larceny in the second degree, a Class D felony (Penal Law §155.35), since §155.00 broadens the common law concept of larceny to include theft of real as well as personal property; but the establishment of guilt would depend on proof that the occupants intended to withhold the property from the owner "permanently or for so extended a period or under such circumstances that the major portion of its economic value or benefit is lost to him"; and though the blacks did affirm an intention to hold Hamilton Hall indefinitely, and promptly put up a sign over the front doorway reading "Malcolm X University. Established 1968," few juries would take them at their word.

We have taken the trouble to measure the first eighteen hours

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of the student rebellion against the standards of the criminal law, in order to show how completely those standards were disregarded by all concerned—not only by the students, but by the administration and the public authorities. There has never been any talk of prosecuting those crimes—neither then nor later. (When the criminal law was eventually invoked by Columbia, it was for the comparatively trivial offense of refusal to *leave* the buildings six days later, after a belated demand to do so.) The crimes were not committed secretly. Most of them were thoroughly photographed by the press and were witnessed by large numbers of people, many of them unsympathetic to the offenders. Quite a few of them were described in signed articles of an autobiographical nature, published by the offenders in a wide variety of magazines and newspapers. Thus, the failure to prosecute can hardly be attributed to lack of evidence.[9] All or nearly all of the offenders were too old to claim shelter as juveniles. Nor did any obstacle arise from the difficulty of ascertaining exactly which members of a large group were the initiators of particular criminal actions: the Penal Law defines the crimes of riot and unlawful assembly comprehensively enough to include all participants; the crime of conspiracy is available to deal with most forms of group action; and Penal Law §20.00 prescribes criminal liability for the conduct of another in quite broad terms: "When one person engages in conduct which constitutes an offense, another person is criminally liable for such conduct when, acting with the mental culpability required for the commission thereof, he solicits, requests, commands, importunes, or intentionally aids such person to engage in such conduct." The explanation must be found, rather, in a generally accepted though tacit assumption that *application of the criminal law is inappropriate in dealing with large-scale deviant behavior on a university campus.* Believing the proposition to have been sufficiently established by what has already been said, we shall not undertake specific description of the numberless additional crimes that were openly committed on the campus during the next days.

[9] Our investigation has not been sufficient to justify a suggestion that the prosecutor's efforts to find usable evidence were less than diligent. Other explanations are possible, and indeed more plausible.

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VII

As of 6 A.M. on Wednesday, April 24, the situation confronting the administration was this: Hamilton Hall was occupied behind barricades by about seventy blacks, a substantial but unknown number of whom were non-students from Harlem. They held Dean Coleman hostage in his office there. Some of the building occupants were rumored to have guns (a rumor, incidentally, which has been denied but never disproved, and which the Negroes did nothing to dispel at the time). Steps had been taken to activate the vast reservoir of hatred among non-whites throughout the city, and it seemed possible that the Hamilton incident might develop into a reprise of the 1964 race riots. (Leaflets distributed in Harlem had said: "Stop Columbia from taking over Harlem. Black students at Columbia are holding a dean captive and have taken control of the administration building. . . . Go to Columbia and help the black students NOW." And later in the day, at a news conference at the office of Harlem CORE—attended by Borough President Percy Sutton and Omar Ahmed, vice-chairman of the National Conference of Black Power—one Arthur Williams had said there would be "massive retaliation if one head is touched. We'll burn the goddam school down.") In short, the administration had reason to view the Hamilton Hall occupation as requiring kid glove treatment. The occupation of the Kirk and Truman offices in Low Library, on the other hand, seemed to be a relatively unimportant matter. The SDS rebels were troublesome, but there was no real fear that they would engage in destruction of life or property on a grand scale; their attitude was a fairly well-known quantity. The attitude of the Negroes, however, was an engima. No one knew how far they were prepared to go; and they had already shown that, whatever their stopping-point, it was well beyond any understood boundaries.

At this juncture the administration recognized (1) that the time had come for action to contain the uprising and (2) that *different* action was indicated with respect to the two occupied buildings. The day before, Dr. Truman had dissuaded Dr. Kirk from calling upon the police. Now he saw that the police would have to be called, and he called them. He met them in the Security Office at Low Library about 7 A.M. At 7:15 he sent word to the occupants

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of his and Dr. Kirk's offices that, if they left at once, they would be subjected to university discipline but no criminal charges, and that, if they stayed, they would be arrested. Rudd and all but about twenty-five others thereupon fled through the windows, and the others resigned themselves to imminent arrest.

The arrests did not take place, however—and for a remarkable reason. Dr. Truman asked the police to proceed against the occupants of Low but not of Hamilton, and *the police refused to do so.* They said that if a criminal trespass complaint were filed, they would have to clear out both buildings; anything else would be "discriminatory." Thus, the administration had to choose between leaving the SDS group in Low and chancing the unpredictable consequences of moving forcibly against SAS and outside black militants in Hamilton. The former course was elected.

The wrongness and presumptuousness of the position taken by the police is hard to overstate. Nothing in the law requires a property owner to evict everyone on his premises if he evicts anyone. He is privileged to leave even unwelcome occupants undisturbed for the time being, without losing his right to throw out other still more unwelcome occupants. Considering the circumstances, there was ample reason to clear Low and leave Hamilton for more deliberate treatment; but even if there had been a basis to complain of wrongful discrimination, that was a matter for the courts. Adjudication of such a claim was beyond the province of the police.

So far as is known, the administration acquiesced in the police refusal without appealing up the line to the Police Commissioner and the Mayor. Perhaps if the seriousness of the consequences had been realized, Dr. Truman would at least have put the city authorities to the necessity of justifying the weird police position in public. As it was, the police simply drifted into the tumbled Low offices, supervised the removal of a Rembrandt painting and some other valuable art objects, chatted with the students, and left. Within the next few hours reinforcements through the windows brought the student strength up to 120 or so, and ninety-three were eventually arrested there the following week.

It should be recognized that Dr. Truman's effort to deal more leniently with the black students involved a delicate judgment. It could easily have been interpreted as a scornful affirmation

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that Negroes should be treated as children not fully responsible for their acts—which would have been particularly galling to the young men and women whose main purpose was to demonstrate their adult stature to themselves and other Negroes. It could also have been interpreted as a concession to superior power—the power to arouse Harlem and to harm the hostage—and this would have taught the dangerous lesson that crime does pay. Later statements of Dr. Kirk and Dr. Truman suggest that this latter interpretation was in fact the true one, so far as their personal motivation was concerned. But a better reason existed, and may well have been controlling.

The Negro students in Hamilton had put themselves in a position where their pride would not permit them to acknowledge *impotence*. By their actions they had exposed themselves to heavy criminal penalties; and, on almost any standard of acceptable student conduct, their summary expulsion from Columbia could have been justified. But such a course would have cost the University (and the larger society) more than the loss of a few dozen promising students. These young people, and others like them in schools across the land, may well represent the last best hope of keeping this country from the dismal path to racial separatism.

The United States today is at a crossroads not unlike that which South Africa reached in 1908. Until then, the Cape Colony —under British rule—had kept alive the ideal of racial equality even though the ideal was still far from realization, holding out the hope that a single non-racial society would eventually develop. The neighboring Transvaal Republic, on the other hand, had long been committed to unabashed affirmation of the inequality of the races. Its 1858 constitution had declared that "there shall be no equality between white and black in church or state." The other neighboring states, Natal and the Orange Free State, had followed the Transvaal line. When it was proposed to bring the four states together into a federal Union of South Africa, one of the major questions was whether the terms of the union should embody the Cape Colony's position on matters of racial policy, especially the franchise—an issue which far-seeing patriots understood to involve the choice between racial separatism and an ultimately unified society. In 1908 Olive Schreiner

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wrote, in the *Transvaal Leader*, words that seem strangely apt six decades later in the United States:[10]

> If by entering on a long and difficult course of strictly just and humane treatment, as between man and man, we can bind our dark races to us through their sense of justice and gratitude; if we, as a dominant class, realise that the true wealth of a nation is the health, happiness, intelligence, and content of every man and woman born within its borders; if we do not fail to realise that the true crown of honour on the head of a dominant class is that it leads and teaches, not uses and crushes; if, as the years pass, we can point with pride to our native peoples as the most enlightened and the most free, the most devoted to the welfare of its native land of all African races; if our labouring class can in the end be made to compare favourably with that of all other countries; and if for the men of genius and capacity who are born among them there be left open a free path, to take their share in the higher duties of life and citizenship, their talent expended for the welfare of the community and not suppressed to become its subterraneous and disruptive forces; if we can make our state as dear to them, as the matrix in which they find shelter for healthy life and development, as it is to us; then I think the future of South Africa promises greatness and strength.
>
> But if we fail in this?—if, blinded by the gain of the moment, we see nothing in our dark man but a vast engine of labour; if to us he is not a man, but only a tool; if dispossessed entirely of the land for which he now shows that large aptitude for peasant proprietorship for the lack of which among their masses many great nations are decaying; if we force him permanently in his millions into the locations and compounds and slums of our cities, obtaining his labour cheaper, but to lose what the wealth of five Rands could not return to us; if, uninstructed in the highest forms of labour, without the rights of citizenship, his own social organisation is broken up, without our having aided him to participate in our own; if, unbound to us by gratitude and sympathy, and alien to us in blood and colour, we reduce this vast mass to the condition of a great seething, ignorant proletariat—then I would rather draw a veil over the future of this land.

[10] Her little-remembered article is quoted by Julius Lewin in *The Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York, 1967), 34-35.

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If one makes allowance for the fact that this exhortation and warning were addressed to the dominant whites in a society that had no Declaration of Independence or Civil War Amendments (rather than to both whites and blacks in a country which for a century and more has stood nominally committed to the egalitarian ideal), the analysis of the choice between separatism and unity is as relevant to our situation now as it was to South Africa's then. South Africa crossed its watershed in 1909, when the Union was constructed; and now it grimly carries out the logical implications of its separatist policy by delimiting black enclaves such as the Transkei, where, it boasts, the non-whites can preserve their distinctive identity and work out their future for themselves. That is the true and ultimate substance of the half-loaf for which our Negro militants demand the right to settle.

Perhaps blacks cannot be blamed for doubting that Olive Schreiner's glittering vision is more than a mirage. A full century after the Emancipation Proclamation its promise remains largely unfulfilled. And even as cynical obstructionism has begun to yield to claims of common humanity, many of the concessions have been tarnished by condescension and self-righteous paternalism (traces of which can, indeed, be noted in the Schreiner piece). If the election in favor of separatism would affect no one but the blacks, it would be only reasonable to say that they should be the ones to decide; the only question would be whether the voices of Malcom X and his disciples reflect the actual wishes of Negroes generally. But a glance at present-day South Africa is enough to show that non-whites are *not* the sole parties in interest. Institutionalization of the racial schism would doom the open society for white and black alike.[11]

Maybe the crossroads is already behind us. For many years after the Civil War Negroes joined hands with others who understood the true nature and awful import of the choice between separatism and unity, and patiently worked toward realization of the ideal of general kinship. No later than 1938 the Supreme Court had begun to lend its powerful hand. Barriers fell more rapidly as whites and blacks fought side by side in World War II. The 1954 school segregation decision finally declared official

[11] Louis Lusky, "Minority Rights and the Public Interest," *Yale Law Journal*, LII (1942), 1-41.

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segregation to be a denial of *legal* right. Then the era of overpromises began. The segregation decision was degraded by a weary decade of "deliberate speed."[12] Successive Civil Rights Acts, each of them advertised as a panacea, were found to be but partial remedies whose full effect would not be felt for decades or generations. And, perhaps most demoralizing, a highly touted "War on Poverty"—a program that was offered to simple people with all the pomp and glitter of a Hollywood spectacular, as a program to end the deep deprivations of the ghettos within a few years—broke the word of promise to the hope. By the middle nineteen-sixties ever more strident voices were heard proclaiming that nothing could be gained without threat, that no threat would be credible unless backed by organization, and that organization meant racial solidarity as a first imperative.

Many scorned these voices as mere fulminations of a minority too small and weak to mount a revolution—the many, that is, who were too stupid to realize that a small but desperate and determined minority does have power to disrupt the delicate mechanisms of interdependency on which the openness of our society depends, and blight the society by driving it to move in the direction of the police state in order to save itself. But the complaining voices were heard by some, and their import understood: Many of the universities, such as Columbia, and many of the major foundations, such as Ford, realized that a Thurgood Marshall or a Ralph Bunche provides an indispensable part of the answer to the separatists; and they set about the eleventh-hour (or thirteenth-hour?) task of making good on the old promise in a really effective way: by welcoming, indeed coaxing, large and increasing numbers of non-whites into the academic halls for training in the skills needed for effective entry into the business and professional worlds.

The few dozens of black students who had locked themselves up in Hamilton Hall in the early hours of April 24 represented the first fruits of this endeavor. To put them in prison, or even to expel them from Columbia, would have crippled a significant effort at developing an acceptable alternative to separatism. And

[12] Louis Lusky, "Racial Discrimination and the Federal Law: A Problem in Nullification," *Columbia Law Review*, LXIII (1963), 1171-72; Lusky, "The Stereotype," 457-60.

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so it is understandable that the Columbia administration, faced with the wooden-headed and illegal position of the police, shrank from ordering Hamilton to be cleared—even at the cost of leaving temporarily undisturbed the occupants of the offices in Low.

Had that been the only cost, evaluation of the decision would be a fairly simple matter. What was needed was time to work out a settlement with Hamilton on terms that would not so humiliate the black students as to alienate them from the University and the white community once and for all. If the only cost had been a brief extension of the SDS sojourn in the Kirk and Truman offices, where they were busily engaged in rifling papers; xeroxing selected letters and memos for quotation in nationally-distributed *Ramparts* and for facsimile reproduction in the less widely-distributed *Rat;* pilfering the president's sherry and cigars; damaging some of the office furniture and furnishings; and engaging in such expressions of contempt as defecating in the files, the price would have been painful but not enormous. The actual price turned out to be much higher—because of developments which, there is reason to believe, the administration did not foresee. To those developments we now turn.

VIII

We have already seen that the administration's irresolution in meeting the SDS challenge prepared the ground for the SAS uprising. The fertility of that seedbed was not, however, exhausted. As the administration struggled in private to settle the delicate Hamilton Hall affair, rebellion blossomed in two other segments of the campus community—each of them far larger than the first insurgent groups, and more important to the functioning of the University. One was comprised of some thousands of students who, though they had no firm commitment to the objectives or methods of SDS or SAS, did have grievances against the University and thought that it was badly run. The other was a large portion of the faculty, particularly the junior faculty, who (1) had grievances of their own, overlapping those of the students, and (2) deeply feared that use of the police to oust the building occupants would inflict irreparable damage on a community dedicated to the solution of problems by reason rather than force. Still a

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third major segment of the campus population also made itself heard, and threatened a counter-rebellion, but did not quite reach the point of significant action. This third group consisted of additional thousands of students (of whom athletes formed a nucleus but by no means the whole) who deplored the failure to enforce the university rules and talked angrily of clearing the occupied buildings themselves.

The first of these groups joined forces with the SDS and made use of its leadership structure. Some of them took part in the building occupation, some were added to the committee that directed the rebellion, some picketed and demonstrated, and many simply drifted about the campus putting in a word where they thought it would have an effect. On Thursday afternoon the second group organized itself loosely under the name "Ad Hoc Faculty Group." The third called itself by various names as events unfolded and organizational efforts were made—Students for a Free Campus, the Majority Coalition, Students for Columbia University—but, unlike the first two, never succeeded in developing a constituency solid enough to provide weight to the words of its spokesmen. For convenience we shall call the three groups, respectively, the "rebel sympathizers," the "AHFG," and the "legitimists."

It is to be understood that none of these groups had a clearly defined membership. Even the AHFG, which achieved a higher degree of independent organization than the others, consisted of a floating group of professors, instructors, preceptors, etc.—whatever faculty members happened to be present, at any given time, in the large room (301 Philosophy Hall) where the group gathered in more or less continuous meeting during the last five days of the building occupation. But each of the three groups did have visible and articulate leaders who regarded themselves as responsible to the group members and who urged or took action consistent with the respective group positions described above.

Wednesday was a quiet day. Heavy rain throughout the morning discouraged outdoor gatherings. Morning classes in Hamilton were canceled, of course, but for quite a while no announcement was made with respect to later classes there.

The work of the College was thus largely shut down, but the graduate and professional schools were hardly affected. Behind

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the scenes, the administration tried to negotiate a settlement with the Hamilton occupants. It made no public statement, however, and the uninformed teachers and students knew nothing except that building occupations continued, that Dean Coleman was held prisoner, and that the police were doing nothing but patrol the lawn under the second-story windows of the Kirk and Truman offices.

Though the SDS leaders did not know exactly why the buildings had been left uncleared, they realized very quickly that they had been presented with an opportunity for mobilizing additional support from both students and faculty. They immediately addressed themselves to the task of "radicalizing" the hitherto quiescent and uncommitted thousands. The meaning of "radicalize" is not self-evident, but a contemporary Thucydides might seek to capture the essence of the SDS position by formulating its appeal in the following hypothetical terms:

"By acts of great daring we have opened the way to the effective airing of grievances which, until now, the University has brushed off. To be sure, you students and teachers have enjoyed full freedom to speak, publish, and organize; the University has not punished dissent. But neither has it taken notice of your complaints. Ordinarily it has appeared to be simply deaf, proceeding on its course as if your questioning voices had not been heard at all. Occasionally it has taken action having the effect of satisfying a complaint, but in doing so has taken pains to indicate that it was not acting *in response* to your complaint but was only doing what it would have done anyway—implying, in effect, that your complaint had been unnecessary and presumptuous. The University has been able to preserve this aloof posture because you have lacked power to compel attention and response.

"Now we have cracked the shell, breached the citadel. We sit in the president's office and in the main classroom building of the College. The administration cannot oust us without using the police, and it lacks the nerve to do that—see for yourselves. So it must listen to us, and to you if you so demand. Grievances of all kinds have suddenly been rendered *negotiable*, through our heroic action.

"We offer the watchword *carpe diem*. Whoever believes that the University needs improving in any way whatever should

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(1) support the building occupation, which is the fulcrum of our power; (2) insist that we be rewarded, or at least not punished, for the service we have rendered; and (3) come forward with his own hitherto ignored grievances. He who lags back now is either a coward or a complacent fool or a slave to the bourgeois notion that method counts for more than results."

It might seem odd that such an appeal, based on exaltation of ends over means, would be effective in a campus community. There, of all places, one might expect revulsion against physical force, and criminal force at that, as a means of achieving any objective, however worthy. But one must reckon with the lawlessness of the surrounding city, with the failure of the University to *proclaim* the necessity of lawful procedure as an absolute precondition of negotiation toward substantive changes, and—with one other fact: the University's impressive record of indifference to persuasion.

A few months or years on the campus had been enough for any perceptive student or teacher to discover that disheartening fact. The University does indeed rate very high on the academic scale. It adheres to enviable standards of scholarship. It has not been penurious in the matter of teacher salaries; and though its comparative standing in this regard has slipped somewhat in the last few years—more than bare salary comparisons indicate, since New York salaries must be discounted for the uniquely high cost of living in the New York area—Columbia has nevertheless paid enough to attract and hold a faculty of great distinction. (That very distinction has helped Columbia to remain competitive.)

Under the pressure of rising costs it has allowed portions of its physical plant to become obsolescent, has raised tuition substantially (always, however, with enlarged provision for financial assistance to the needy student), and has kept many of its classes too large for optimum contact between teacher and student. And yet it would be a mistake to suppose that any of these negative factors, or all of them together, have provided a significant source of disaffection. After all, such conditions are knowable by anyone invited to matriculate or take a teaching post, and acceptance is not compulsory. Moreover, to the extent that Columbia's shortcomings were attributable to financial stringency, there was reason to hope for early relief. In 1967 the University had em-

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barked upon the most ambitious three-year fund-raising program ever undertaken by an educational institution. The goal was to raise $200 million, and great progress had been made.

But coupled with the fact of good and improving academic stature was another fact, almost too odd to be credible. Intent as it was on assembling highly qualified teachers and students, the University concerned itself hardly at all with the mundane but necessary problem of enabling them to concentrate on their work —of establishing an environment in which the hours devoted to learning would be maximized, and the hours siphoned off for such unproductive but inescapable tasks as apartment-hunting, parking, typing, filing, telephone-answering, and banking would be held to a minimum. Even more remarkable, the University made little if any use of its own pool of talented specialists and imaginative students in dealing with such matters; time and again those who, having encountered operational deficiencies or injustices, were stimulated to offer not only complaints but remedial proposals, were held at arm's length.

In short, the University either failed to understand that the working time and morale of its scholars are its most precious assets, or it did not realize that simple housekeeping and office-keeping necessities are a first charge on working time (an overhead burden that is particularly heavy on a crowded urban campus) and forgot that freedom to complain is meaningless unless respectful attention—not instant acquiescence, but reasoned response —is accorded to respectful suggestions.

This is not to say that the administrators, as individuals, were unapproachable. Many of them, such as Dr. Truman, kept their doors open and even made affirmative efforts at personal contact with students and faculty alike; and the interchange so achieved was free and unstilted. But they could not, by their individual efforts, surmount the obstacles imposed by an antique bureaucratic structure ridden with rules made for a simpler day and staffed, at the lower levels (where the routine contacts take place) with an inadequately supervised corps of clerks and other non-professionals whose function is to respect the rule book and the clock.

This is not the place to submit a full bill of particulars. Columbia's organizational and operational shortcomings have not

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escaped the notice of commentators on the rebellion, and there is no need to duplicate their observations. But for our present purpose, which is to make clear how the little annoyances of daily life on Morningside Heights—insufficient, singly and in the aggregate, to spark an uprising—nevertheless induced in a great number of students and teachers a state of mind receptive to the *carpe diem* appeal, it is appropriate to detail a few typical experiences. (We do not mean to suggest that the experience on other campuses has been materially different from that at Columbia.) For campus readers this will be a work of supererogation; nearly all of them have had similar experiences of their own, or know people who have. But for others concrete examples may be an aid to understanding.

Testifying on May 29 before the Cox Commission (a five-man fact-finding commission established at the instance of the faculty to inquire into the spring disorders), an assistant professor in the department of public law and government declared:

> Junior faculty members share offices in the ratio of two to three junior faculty members to one office. The junior faculty, of course, is in closest touch with the students for the most part and it is very difficult for us to speak with students in private, because generally our colleagues are sitting nearby. Students feel this embarrassment and we feel it ourselves.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . In the building in which I have my office—Hamilton Hall—there are both classrooms and offices. Every hour there is a class break. Large numbers of students milling through the hall. Very difficult to work in a tranquil setting in one's own office. There is one elevator for the whole building. My office is on the eighth floor.
>
> About 20% of the time I cannot take the elevator, as cannot other junior faculty members, because one cannot get near it. Too many faculty trying to get to the elevator.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The matter of secretarial help. In the Government Department which is a typical example there are something like fifteen members . . . to one secretary. The one departmental secretary must act as a receptionist for the department, answering telephone calls. She must type official correspondence for the Department Chairman. She must type examinations, reading lists and the like. What this means is

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that she is enormously overworked. What it also means is that the junior faculty who are located in Hamilton Hall, generally cannot get her to type correspondence, can't get her to type letters to colleagues at other universities. Of course, you cannot get her to type things like research material.

She works under such conditions that in the four years that I have been at Columbia there have been five secretaries for the Government Department alone. The turnover is one per year. . . .

Until this year I as an assistant professor could not call outside the University. I had a phone in my office, but I could not call New York. If I wanted to call my wife because I was going to be late for dinner or for some reason, I had to go from the 8th floor down to the main floor of Hamilton Hall. I had to fight with the students and faculty members to get to one pay phone for one building. . . . This year I am able, as an assistant professor, I now have the right, my phone has been [so] arranged that I can call outside the University within the New York area. If I need to speak to colleagues [outside New York] about matters such as graduate students, looking for jobs, I cannot do that. Those below the rank of assistant professor cannot call within the metropolitan area. They must still fight for that one pay telephone. . . .

Some of these grievances, such as the crowded office and the single elevator, are doubtless attributable to the inadequacy of the building, and may well be hard to deal with until a major capital outlay can be arranged—though the possibility remains that at least part of the hardship resulted from low priority given to the needs of professional personnel in the allocation of available space. The shortage and low pay of secretarial help, however, is a different matter. Any management consultant would brand this as poor economy. As for the telephone situation, it was little short of preposterous.

There is the matter of academic regulations. In lieu of a factual example of difficulty caused by ossified rules on such matters as qualifications for degrees, we refer to a fictional account by Jeremy Larner, published in *Harper's* (October 1968) under the title, "They are taking My Letters: A Story About a Revolution at Good Old Columbia U." Cruelly overdrawn as it is, this hilarious narrative does capture in caricature the feeling of helplessness in the face of bureaucracy that swelled the ranks of the rebel sympathizers. The Larner tale relates the experiences of Willie McBain,

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a graduate student in philosophy at a Chicago university who transferred to Columbia to complete work on his M.A. and go on to a Ph.D. He found that he could transfer his thirty Chicago credits if he would seek the Ph.D. only, but—for reasons unknown and unknowable—could transfer only fifteen of them if he were a candidate for two graduate degrees. The dean told him with worldly resignation that Columbia had a rule—"a somewhat arbitrary rule, to be sure, but. . . ." In order to avoid taking five courses over, at a tuition cost of $750, Willie told the dean that he would forego the M.A. and go for the Ph.D. only. He also got the department secretary to scratch his name off the list of M.A. candidates. But after two semesters "the Columbia computer awarded him a Master's degree," and he learned to his horror that "he had not officially withdrawn his name from the M.A. list; to do that, he would have had to fill out a Degree Withdrawal Form and a special card to stop-circuit his punched matriculation slip." "Why didn't you tell me that before?" Willie asked the dean. "It was not my department. It still is not," came the reply. Willie said he wanted to refuse the degree, but the dean told him there was no degree refusal form. And so on.

Many a true word is written in jest.

Returning to the real world, let us examine a couple of specific incidents in grass-roots detail. An upperclasswoman at Barnard (Columbia's affiliated college for women, located adjacent to the Morningside campus) stored her trunk and a box of books in the basement of her dormitory during the summer of 1967. This was done pursuant to a standard arrangement, and she paid the usual fee which covered redelivery of the books to her room in the fall. In September she was taking residence in a different dormitory across the street—where there were no facilities for summer storage—so she inquired in the spring whether redelivery would be made to her new room. She was assured that it would. On arriving in September, however, she found that her trunk and box were not awaiting her there (as was the usual practice). After waiting two days she spoke to the director of her old dorm who said she would have to take care of her things herself since she no longer lived there. The director of her new dorm disclaimed jurisdiction.

The next day she tried to borrow a cart from the porter in the

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old dorm but he refused her because she was not a resident. The director of that dorm told her, however, that she could use one of the carts after 8 P.M. the next day, when the freshmen would be finished with them. But when she applied, the night porter refused her.

Lacking blankets, towels, clothing (except what she wore and what she had brought in a week-end bag), and books that she needed for school, she and another girl in the same predicament went to a meeting of the entire dorm staff and threatened to bill Barnard for the cost of replacing the missing luggage. (Had they sued, they might well have collected; the law is strict with warehousemen who fail to redeliver.) Only then did the two girls learn the real trouble: a union dispute among the porters.

On further inquiry a week later the director of the old dorm declared that a commercial mover would probably be called in, but she couldn't say when. Still further inquiry, another week later, revealed that the director thought all the deliveries had been made. A search of the storage room the following day was fruitless. Two days later the trunk and box were finally delivered.

Elapsed time: over three weeks.

Examination of another grievance tends to substantiate the frequent criticism of Columbia for its lack of a university senate —a representative body to which all segments of the campus community can bring problems relating to the University as a whole. Columbia had lagged behind most comparable schools in this regard. The only organ of the kind was the University Council, composed of administrators and senior faculty members of the various divisions. Its limitations are illustrated by the following experience of a professor in the Law School.

On May 3, 1965, he went to the Columbia Health Service with a bronchial cough. (The Health Service provides high quality medical treatment without cost. It occupies quarters in St. Luke's Hospital, across Amsterdam Avenue from the campus.) The attending physician found that a diagnostic chest X-ray was needed, and sent him to the St. Luke's X-ray department where that job was done. Effective treatment followed.

The next month the professor received a bill from St. Luke's in the amount of twenty-three dollars for the X-ray. Upon investigation he found that the normal rate charged for chest X-rays

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by outside radiologists who service patients referred by private physicians (including the same physicians who work part time at the Health Service) was ten dollars. The most recent Faculty Handbook (1965, p. 97), describing the clinical service, stated that the services of physicians would be rendered free and that technical services, such as X-rays and blood tests, would be provided by St. Luke's to Columbia personnel "at a special rate granted by St. Luke's." A phone call to St. Luke's revealed that the twenty-three-dollar rate had been charged "because you are a full professor" (a circumstance not mentioned by the Handbook).

Knowing his rights, the law professor wrote to St. Luke's on June 22, advising them that he was obligated to pay a reasonable charge for the service and no more; that twenty-three dollars was more than a reasonable charge; and that he would not pay it, though he would pay a reasonable bill if rendered. He was dunned with a July 23 bill at the original rate, and then heard no more until the following May 12, when he received a bill for seven dollars—which he paid.

Believing that this game of bluff and bluster was probably costing other Columbia teachers a good deal of money, the professor hunted for a channel through which to request University action. The University Council was the only visible possibility, and he was told that the appropriate way to address it was through the secretary of the University. On September 12, 1966, having returned from a summer teaching assignment overseas, he accordingly wrote the secretary asking him to bring the matter to the Council's attention or, if that was not the competent body, to advise him where the complaint should be submitted. He pointed out that the Handbook statement was misleading—the promise of a "special rate," in context, could only mean a specially *low* rate—and, second, that the misrepresentation was a potentially costly trap, since he himself could have paid a private physician for an office call and paid an outside radiologist for an X-ray for a total cost less than the twenty-three dollars which he had been billed (and, had he not been a lawyer, would have thought he had to pay) for the X-ray alone.

The response he got was a phone call from the secretary of the University, advising that the Council did not deal with such matters; that he knew of no other university body on which the fac-

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ulty was represented that did; and that, upon talking to the administrator of the Health Service, he had learned that the twenty-three-dollar rate was necessary in order for St. Luke's to make ends meet. The professor answered that Columbia, having led its teachers to resort to the Health Service by advertising it in the Handbook, had an obligation to correct the misleading statement as to the cost of technical services. He requested a written response to his earlier letter, and confirmed the request by a further letter dated October 25.

The University gave no timely notice of the Handbook error, nor did the professor receive a written response. The next edition of the Handbook, published in 1968, did contain a very limited revision. It said (p. 118): "A charge is made for laboratory work done in the office as well as for X-ray examinations, though in some instances at a special rate granted by St. Luke's."

These few examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. They reveal no malice or parsimony on the part of the administration—only a weary indifference to the unwisdom, the unfairness, even the illegality of existing rules or practices. Since most of the grievances were known only to one or a few people, they did not produce a spirit of rebellion; but collectively they induced a diffuse unrest. And that unrest could and did make trouble when the *carpe diem* appeal brought it to focus.

In this connection, notice should be taken of one further incident that did come to general attention. By demonstrating to one and all the administration's coldness to respectful remonstrance, it may have contributed more than any other single thing to the brittleness of the situation.

In February 1967 student anti-war demonstrators physically prevented fellow-students from keeping appointments with CIA recruiters. Police were called to restore order, and university discipline was imposed. Because of the then unusual nature of the incident, the president—in whom was vested ultimate disciplinary authority and responsibility—set up a special *ad hoc* arrangement for the trial of the charges. He appointed a tribunal composed of two teachers, two administrators, and two students, and chaired by one of the teachers (who was a law professor). The tribunal adopted a judicial form of procedure. The hearing was public. The accused students were represented by counsel of their choice. A second law

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professor served as prosecutor. Formal charges were made and controverted, and witnesses were examined and cross-examined. The tribunal made full findings of fact, on which it based recommendations of dismissal of charges against some of the students and varying degrees of discipline for the others. President Kirk followed these advisory recommendations for the most part, but increased the penalty in one case and diminished it in another—explaining in a published statement his reasons for doing so.

At the time, the experiment—which was a considerable departure from the customary procedure (consisting of a private hearing without counsel before the appropriate dean with right of appeal to the president)—was generally accepted on campus as a success. The adjudicatory process was thought to have been dispassionate and deliberate, and the outcome fair. The case was regarded as a precedent for the proposition that "political" offences, as distinguished from the usual disciplinary cases such as those involving plagiarism, cheating on exams, drug use, and irregular sexual behavior—where the student normally preferred the private and informal hearings, and indeed was often treated with paternal leniency—ought to be handled in a formal way.

This conception was nourished by a fifteen-member Committee on Student Life that Dr. Kirk had appointed in 1965, after disorderly pacifist demonstrators had disrupted a Naval ROTC ceremony. The committee, composed of five teachers, five administrators, and five students, was to conduct a "re-examination of existing university policies governing student rights and responsibilities as members of an academic community." (Dr. Truman, then dean of the College, was one of the members.)

The committee's broad terms of reference included the subjects of demonstrations and discipline. In August 1967, after much work, it submitted its report, including the partial dissent of four of the student members, to Dr. Kirk. On the vexed question of student demonstrations, the whole committee recommended that indoor demonstrations be allowed under certain regulations for preservation of order and safety. On the question of disciplinary procedure there was some division of opinion, but here, too, the committee was unanimous in recommending that students be given a role in the adjudicatory process. Whether or not the committee's recommendations were the wisest that could have been

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devised, they were responsibly made by a duly authorized group and deserved a reasoned response if any proposals did.

The unpublished committee report lay on the president's desk for seven months, until March of 1968. He made no public acknowledgment of its rendition, or affirmation of his intention to take account of it. The month after receiving it, however, he did take action on one of the subjects with which it dealt—action inconsistent with the committee's recommendation. On September 25, 1967, his office issued the following statement of policy: "Picketing or indoor demonstrations may not be conducted within any University building." No explanation accompanied the statement.

On the merits a good case could be made for the president's announced policy. There is serious reason to doubt that *any* qualifying regulations can be drawn which will reduce the danger of fights and classroom disruption to such a level as to render indoor demonstrations an acceptable mode of expression (particularly in light of the very broad latitude allowed to *outdoor* demonstrations on the campus). But that is not the presently pertinent point. The point resides in the message conveyed by the *manner* in which the policy statement was announced, namely, that *no* representations, however deliberate and peaceable, would be acknowledged to have any effect upon administration decisions. And that message was emphasized by the circumstances under which the committee's report was ultimately publicized: Some members of the committee, their patience at an end, informed the president that unless he published the report they would publish it themselves. Only then did he release it.

It was against this background that, on and after Wednesday, April 24, the rebel sympathizers, the AHFG, and—in a limited but significant sense—the legitimists, joined the fray. In the next pages we shall view the emergence of these groups and sketch their interplay with each other, with the original rebel groups, and with the conventional centers of authority and influence such as the trustees, the administration, the regular Columbia faculties, and the city government. Our task is a fairly simple one so far as the moves and countermoves of the leaders are concerned, because published accounts have traced them in painstaking detail. But the published accounts understandably focus primary attention on the *spokesmen*, whose words were embodied

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in press releases, leaflets, or other contemporaneous writings, or were reported in the daily press. The accounts do not fully reflect the surges of bewildered fear and anger that swept the campus from hour to hour. Inasmuch as the awareness of these feelings played a part in determining the administration's course of action, this is a material lack; and, in order to fill it, we have resorted to the taped broadcasts of WKCR, the student-operated campus radio station.[13]

Almost from the beginning of the rebellion WKCR provided broad current coverage on a virtually round-the-clock basis. Its reporters, spotted at strategic points about the campus, provided live coverage of a good deal of the action; and reports of other action, at places where the lines did not reach, were taped for quick airing. After occasional lapses from objectivity in the first day or so, when at least one of its reporters appears to have lent aid and comfort to the rebels, WKCR settled down to a determined and successful effort at straight and complete reporting. From April 24 to 30 it was increasingly relied upon as the primary source of information regarding campus events, the daily *Spectator* and other ordinary media being too slow to catch the kaleidoscopic scene.

IX

Neglecting the Low occupation and doing almost nothing to let puzzled students and teachers know what was going on, the administration spent Wednesday trying to negotiate a settlement with the blacks in Hamilton Hall. In the morning a number of Negro politicians and public figures arrived on the campus and made some effort at mediation. Senator Patterson, accompanied by Assistant Chief Inspector Eldridge Waithe (top Negro policeman in New York—in plain clothes) and Victor Solomon, chairman of Harlem CORE, entered Hamilton and later relayed to the administration the occupants' demand for complete amnesty—from

[13] In August and September 1968 many of these tapes were transcribed for permanent reference. The very considerable expense was borne by a group of alumni, headed by Stephen P. Duggan Jr., Esq. (president of the Law School Alumni Association), who recognized the unique historical value of the tapes and thought it worthwhile to preserve those of them which had not been already lost or wiped off.

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university discipline as well as criminal prosecution—as a precondition of negotiations. Borough President Sutton called in City Commissioner of Human Rights William Booth, who appears to have been instrumental in inducing many of the helpers from Harlem to leave Hamilton—taking with them their weapons, if any. (Later in the day a WKCR reporter there declared that only seven non-students remained.)

Responding to an initiative from the Mayor's office, the administration accepted the services of Barry Gottehrer, an aide who had had a good deal of experience in calming potentially explosive ghetto situations. Gottehrer expressed doubt that the threatened Harlem uprising would materialize, but advised the administration to comply with the amnesty demand.

Dr. Kirk declared himself willing to withhold criminal prosecution. As for university discipline, he at first declined to make any commitments. He maintained this position throughout the afternoon, even when Chief Waithe (after further discussion in Hamilton) sent word that he thought the building would be vacated upon an assurance that no expulsions would follow. Later, however, a softer position was formulated in a conference attended by Dr. Kirk, Dr. Truman, Borough President Sutton, Senator Patterson, Commissioner Booth, Mr. Gottehrer, and Assemblyman Rangel. About 8 P.M. Associate Dean Platt delivered to Hamilton a letter signed by him in his official capacity, saying that the students there would not be prosecuted criminally and would only be put on disciplinary probation (until the end of the following academic year) if they left the building by 10 P.M. The letter also promised consideration of the gym issue by the trustees.

By this time, whatever flexibility there may have been in the students' position had vanished. They rejected the proposal on two stated grounds: (1) that the assurance against prosecution or expulsion would not be binding without Dr. Kirk's signature, and (2) that disciplinary probation would (under the applicable regulations) disable them to participate in extracurricular activities. Then, shortly after midnight, Dr. Kirk signed as president and sent to Hamilton Hall the following letter:

> TO: The Columbia Students in Hamilton Hall
> This is to inform you that I shall recommend favorably to the

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Trustees motion five passed by the Faculty of Columbia College on 24 April [to be discussed below]. The text of the motion is:

That this Faculty respectfully petitions the University Administration

a) to arrange the immediate suspension of on-site excavation of the gymnasium facility in Morningside Park.

b) to be prepared to review the matter of the gymnasium site with a group of community spokesmen; the administration will immediately invite the Mayor to designate a group who will take counsel with the University with respect to the location and character of the gymnasium.

Your attention is especially drawn to Part B of this motion. In order to make explicit the character and purposes of the group to be designated by the Mayor, I shall recommend to the Trustees that the Mayor be asked to secure the approval of leaders acceptable to the Harlem Community of the group's composition, procedures and powers.

If you will leave Hamilton Hall, your names will be taken and you will receive a disciplinary warning for the remainder of the academic year 1967-68 and for the academic year 1968-69. No criminal charges will be made against any person presently in Hamilton Hall. Even with this warning you may participate in all College and University extra-curricular activities, including the Student Afro-American Society. At the conclusion of a student's period of disciplinary warning no permanent record or physical evidence of such status will remain in his record.

The letter brought no response whatever. The occupation continued. The offer (which, unlike the Platt letter, contained no time limit) was not withdrawn; it was renewed through intensive mediation efforts the following Monday, and remained effective until the police cleared the building a short while thereafter.

For the rebel sympathizers and the legitimists Wednesday was a time to mobilize. The latter had made their appearance in defense of Low Library the previous noon, as Students for a Free Campus. Numbers of them had entered Hamilton along with the rebels; and, after they were shouldered out Tuesday evening, a group of them (numbering one hundred to five hundred at different times) had clustered angrily in front of the building until 3 A.M. A similar group assembled there when the campus came alive at about 8:30 Wednesday morning, as students expecting

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to attend classes in Hamilton appeared to find the building barricaded and only black faces peering out. The indignation of the legitimists rose throughout the day, and at 4:30 P.M. (after the rain had slacked off) erupted into a battle between egg-throwing besiegers and fire extinguisher-wielding defenders.

The fracas was quieted by Dean Coleman, who, having been liberated an hour before, had gone to the College faculty meeting then in progress—only to be called away to persuade the attackers to desist. Dean Coleman's word, being that of a former Columbia athlete popular with the students, carried weight with the legitimists; and for the next day or so he was to repeat this performance from time to time, as occasion demanded. He was effective, though gradually less so as his assurances wore thinner—assurances that self-help was pointless because the administration itself was about to take action against the rebels. On Wednesday afternoon, however, his credibility was yet unimpaired. He had weathered his imprisonment in manly fashion and had emerged with no visible rancor; and when *he* said it was better to leave the rebels undisturbed, who could claim standing to overrule him?

Meanwhile, the SDS leaders had addressed themselves to the problem of rallying the rebel sympathizers to their cause. The fact that the rebels were so *few* was a tender spot. They were not troubled by abstract principles against minority rule as such, but a *tiny* minority was precarious for a practical reason: If the University was as bad as they painted it, how could it be that no more than a minuscule faction had risen against it? The Students for a Free Campus had touched this tender spot in a flyer distributed on campus Tuesday afternoon, saying in part:

> SDS seeks a minority role in the guise of Student Power. They do not shrink from the use of force, such as imprisoning Dean Coleman, even when the legitimate authority or the vast student majority . . . refuses to bow to their will. . . . We have the great majority of students on our side.

There is no doubt that on Wednesday morning the great majority of students were horrified at what the rebels had done, and would have raised little or no objection if the police had cleared

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the buildings. As Wednesday wore on, however, the administration's apparent inaction spoke loudly. It seemed to say that the demands of the rebels *were* negotiable, that for some reason they should not be dealt with summarily. And bit by bit, the *carpe diem* appeal took hold.

It did not happen all at once. The *Times* probably had its facts straight as of Thursday morning when its editorial castigated the "destructive minority of students at Columbia University, along with their not so friendly allies among community militants." But the yeast was working. A poll taken Thursday and Friday by three student service societies, canvassing the views of some 5,500 students, not only produced majorities in favor of the rebels' two substantive demands (74 per cent on the gym and 66 per cent on IDA) but also revealed sizable minority support for the methods used: general amnesty was favored by 2,054 (37 per cent) and the tactics of SDS and SAS were approved by 1,325 (24 per cent).

This progress toward "radicalization" of the campus had resulted from a good deal of hard work. At a strategy session held Wednesday night in Ferris Booth Hall, the student activities building, SDS voted down (seventy to three) Rudd's proposal that the assembled group itself should move into the Kirk and Truman offices as reinforcements for the seventy-five rebels then in possession. It voted instead to concentrate on gaining outside support. The program was to canvass the dormitories and spread the *carpe diem* idea through propaganda and political discussion. (Rudd thereupon resigned in a huff, but soon returned to the helm.)

The propaganda program was a success. SDS had already been busy with mimeo machines, and its steady flood of leaflets poured into the virtual information vacuum created by the administration's silence. The next day, Thursday, was to witness a rash of mass demonstrations and public meetings which we shall review in due course. And all the while the rebels made adroit use of the standard media—*Spectator*, WKCR, and the public press and radio. Later in the week even television played a part.

For more and more students, and teachers as well, the deluge of propaganda focused attention on the rebels' stated substantive objectives rather than their methods, and reduced the substantive

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issues to the simplicity of moralistic slogan. The gym equaled racism; naked legality was its only defense. The IDA equaled militarism and suppression of ghetto riots; the fact that the universities played no direct part in its operations, serving primarily as a buffer between the government and the non-academic scientists and technicians who were working on weapons evaluation problems, was immaterial because weapons are bad and IDA seeks to improve weapons. As for the unfortunate necessity of criminal force, this was required because the University was unresponsive to rational persuasion; and those students who objected to interruption of the education for which they and their parents had worked and paid, should remember that the Vietnamese, the ghetto residents, and little people all over the world also have their need—the need for relief from the oppression of which Columbia was a part. Before long great numbers of the bewildered (basing their judgment as much on the administration's seemingly guilty *nolo contendere*, and on their own knowledge of its callousness in little things, as on the polemics of the rebels) concluded that Morningside Heights was indeed a place of evil and that a painful but wholesome purge was in progress.

It seems at least possible that even this epidemic of disaffection might have melted, thawed, and resolved itself—in the way of earlier episodes of spring madness—had the *faculty* stood firm in support of the administration. The administration's reasons for deliberateness in dealing with Hamilton Hall, and for its concomitant disability to deal with Low, would probably have satisfied most of the legitimists if explained; and the argument for delaying explanation until Hamilton had been solved would eventually have been understood to be compelling.

The gym issue might have been seen in a different light if the administration had explained the difficulty of knowing whether the noisy objectors really spoke for sprawling, fragmented Harlem —where, according to a public opinion poll published by *New York Magazine* in July 1968, nearly half of the people then had no opinion on the gym and two thirds of the others favored it; if it had made clear the extent of action taken in reliance on the enabling statute and contract, such as the fabrication of structural steel and the raising of more than five million dollars in earmarked gifts; if it

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had elucidated the real basis for the nominal three thousand-dollar cash rent that seemed so niggardly; and if it had spelled out the fiduciary duties that limit the use of trust funds. Of course, these explanations could have been made before April—and in light of hindsight it is now clear that they should have been, though it was not wholly unreasonable for the administration to shrink from public debate with an assorted group of zealots who were responsible to no one and could bind no one, with regard to a matter that had been settled as completely as lawful procedure and legal right *can* settle a matter. But in any case the explanations would not have been too late even after the student rebellion began, had there not been a faculty rebellion also.

Likewise the IDA issue would have assumed a different aspect if dispassionately analyzed. The relation of IDA with Columbia as an *institution* involved problems quite different from those raised by its relation with Columbia-connected *individuals*. The traditional posture of the American university is that of a matrix in which its personnel, as individuals, are free to support whatever social, economic, and political positions they like—so long as their activities do not take them away from the educational work that the university pays them to perform—whereas the university as such preserves a neutral, value-free position except on matters closely concerned with its educational functions. From this viewpoint it was at least arguable that Columbia and the other eleven major universities that comprised the IDA consortium (their representatives being its board members) had overstepped. As was pointed out by the so-called Henkin Committee (the Columbia University Committee on Relations with Outside Agencies)—appointed by Dr. Truman at Dr. Kirk's direction on January 10, 1968, to investigate and report on Columbia's myriad external research arrangements, including the IDA affiliation—which issued its report at the end of May, IDA serves "a predominantly military purpose" and "it is questionable whether the University should participate as a member, in its corporate capacity, except in organizations of Universities dedicated to university interests."

This question having been raised by SDS and others in 1966 and 1967, Columbia's institutional membership in IDA had in

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fact been terminated on April 1. This fact was known on the campus, but its significance was discounted because Dr. Kirk and trustee William Burden remained on the IDA board as individuals (Mr. Burden being its chairman). It was therefore said that the institutional disaffiliation was a sham.

This raises the far more complex question as to whether the university should curtail the outside activities of its personnel. The fight for academic freedom has a long history, and its path is littered with sorry reminders of the danger entailed by such interference. In 1917, for example, the Columbia trustees ousted psychology professor James McKeen Cattell for his letter petitioning three congressmen to oppose a bill authorizing the sending of American conscripts to European battlefields. At about the same time they dismissed comparative literature professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana for association during the summer with allegedly disloyal individuals and organizations, of pacifist persuasion. This and similar incidents led to the resignation of historian Charles A. Beard in December of that year.

Concern for academic freedom does not automatically compel acquiescence in the continued membership of Dr. Kirk and Mr. Burden on the IDA board. The case differs from situations of the Cattell-Dana type in several ways, particularly in the fact that Dr. Kirk still owed his place on the IDA board to the fact that he was Columbia's designee. And yet the importance of academic freedom, and the delicacy of the problem of drawing a line rational and true between individual and institutional affiliation, afforded ample reason to forego the simplistic SDS approach and await the Henkin Committee recommendations. Indeed, even the faculty rebels—for the most part—saw the wisdom of such a course. But, as we shall see, they did little to explain the difficulty of the issue; and their actual course of conduct afforded decisive protection to the simplistic protesters.

As background for a review of what the teachers did, two facts should be noted. The first is that the administration's imperviousness to complaint and suggestion affected them as well as the students, and indeed affected them more deeply. Students are tied to the campus for a few years only. Subjection to a regime that is purblind and hard of hearing (though learned and on the whole benevolent) can be tolerated more easily by those who look for-

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ward to an early exit than by those who expect or hope to remain for the rest of their careers.

The second fact is that the faculty is the least dispensable element of the University. Administrators, while not wholly fungible, can be and are replaced fairly readily if they leave. Were the entire student body to decamp, the impact on the University would be greater; but their places could be filled the next semester, and few would say that the University had changed its identity—partly because the students would all have departed soon anyway, via graduation. But the disappearance of the faculty, and particularly the senior faculty, would be the death of the school. It is the work of decades or generations to assemble a faculty as highly qualified as Columbia's. Therefore pervasive faculty disaffection is a matter of the utmost gravity for the trustees and the administration. If the faculty chooses to exert its power in concerted fashion, it cannot be resisted.

At Columbia the faculty had not theretofore chosen to exert its power. The needless annoyances incident to life and work on Morningside Heights involved mostly individual hardships, each too small to be a *casus belli*. The typical teacher was there because of his primary interest in the subject matter of his specialty and his zeal to introduce eager students to its mysteries, not because he wanted to assume the dreary tasks of campus governance.

Another factor was the lack of alternatives, at least for many of the teachers in the College and other purely academic bailiwicks. The most eminent professors could be confident of finding places at other schools. Most of the non-tenured faculty would probably have to do that in any event, since only a few would earn an invitation to remain on a permanent basis. Virtually the whole faculties of the professional schools could easily move out (or back) to higher-paid jobs in business and the professions if denied an environment in which they could study, teach, and write with some efficiency and effectiveness. But many teachers lacked these options.

For one or both of these reasons, the faculty had shown little rebellious tendency since the old days when academic freedom existed at the sufferance of the trustees. In recent years it has become unthinkable that the Cattell-Dana dismissals, or anything resembling them, would be re-enacted. And until April 1968 the

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faculty might fairly have been described as the sleeping lion of Columbia.

Its first collective stirrings were not alarming, and certainly not rebellious. Individual faculty members had, at the administration's behest, appeared on campus Tuesday morning and endeavored to keep the sundial rally from developing into a fight between student factions. Some teachers who had friendly relations with particular rebel leaders counseled with them and tried to discourage violent or otherwise lawless behavior. Tuesday night half a dozen of them gathered at the apartment of Lionel Trilling, George Edward Woodberry Professor of English, and a celebrated literary critic. They discussed the state of the campus and tried to visualize possible outcomes. They perceived that the central issue was amnesty, which SDS and SAS leaflets were already demanding. And they agreed that use of the police would be most unfortunate. As one of them put it, "they were anxious to avoid the moment of moral horror."

The meeting had no great significance in itself, but the group's specific reaction to the crisis is worth analyzing because it was to become the dominant theme of the later AHFG efforts. No amnesty and no police, the professors said; but they did not address themselves to the question, How long? How long should the buildings be left occupied if nothing short of amnesty would bring the students out voluntarily, and if no one but the police could remove them? Should the occupation be allowed to continue for a year or more, as at the University of Tokyo? If not, was amnesty better or worse than resort to the police?

Since these questions were ignored, there was no effort at comparative evaluation of the two disfavored alternatives. By implication, however, a vague preference for amnesty was indicated. Amnesty was wrong, but police action was morally horrible.

The position against amnesty was almost a necessary one, unless one took the view that the rebels had rendered a major service to the University. Amnesty would be a clear encouragement to imprison deans, occupy buildings, and rifle personal files as a means of making a point, whenever a few dozen or a few hundred students could be whipped up to the effort.

As for the dislike for police action on campus, it is a familiar

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and conventional one. It flows from the ancient town-gown tradition that demands autonomy for a community of scholars capable, presumably, of ordering its affairs without intervention of the heavy and clumsy hand of government.

What was astonishing was the professors' failure to comprehend the thinking of the student rebels on the amnesty question. The SAS position was intransigent: The Hamilton group saw itself as the heroic three hundred at Thermopylae. The war cry was victory or death—*literally* death, in the beginning (to the frightened dismay of the SDS co-occupants); later, under the urging of Commissioner Booth and other trusted blacks, the less grim watchword victory or *arrest* was accepted. But neither of the two postures left room for voluntary acceptance of discipline. Given the SAS objectives—demonstration of racial solidarity and the winning of white respect—the stark dignity of flat refusal to compromise could hardly be abandoned.

As for the SDS, it could not accept a posture less uncompromising than that of SAS. Still fresh was the sting of the Wednesday morning ejection of SDS from Hamilton Hall, because of SAS doubts as to the firmness of the resolve of the white rebels. On the intellectual level compromise was likewise out of the question. The SDS position was that the campus was Mordor, that rebellion was not only permissible but morally imperative, and that amnesty was essential as an explicit admission that these things were so.

By Thursday night the administration had comprehended the thinking of the student rebels. And, as will be seen, it attempted to act accordingly by calling in the police—only to be frustrated by the teachers, of whom few if any (at least of those who made their voices heard) ever grasped the fact that amnesty really *was* a precondition of negotiated settlement.

How can one account for the fact that such intelligent men could make such a whopping mistake; could bend their energies and invest their emotions in an endeavor as hopeless as the squaring of the circle; could wager the continued existence of Columbia as a great university on the prediction that settlement could be negotiated without amnesty? The explanation can only be found in their sublime faith in the omnipotence of reason and

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the prestige of teachers as its high priests, or in gross underestimation of the intellectual caliber of the student rebels and their strength of will, or both.

Of course these judgments are not pronounced on the group that counseled together in Professor Trilling's apartment that Tuesday night. They were *thinking* together, not *acting*. Our attention has focused on their line of thought only because the AHFG was soon to translate it into quite remarkable action.

A meeting of the College faculty was called for 3 P.M. Wednesday in Havemeyer Hall. About noon on that day some twenty-five teachers began an informal discussion in the Graduate Students Lounge (Room 301) in Philosophy Hall, to plan for the faculty meeting. Among them was sociology professor Daniel Bell, one of the Trilling conferees. In the course of the morning he drafted a four-part resolution reducing to the form of a recommendation the ideas developed the night before. The resolution called for rational discourse, deplored coercion (including the imprisonment of Dean Coleman), condemned the invasion of the president's office and the rifling of his files, and then proceeded:

> (3) We believe that any differences will have to be settled peacefully, and we trust that police action will not be used to clear Hamilton Hall.
>
> (4) To the extent that the issues which have arisen in the University community are due to a failure of communication and discussion within the University, we call upon the administration to set up a tri-partite body to discuss any disciplinary matters arising out of the incidents yesterday and today, the issue of the gymnasium and any other matters which are subjects of legitimate concern to the University community.

There was nothing rebellious about this. It expressed hope that police action would not be necessary, and requested establishment of a tripartite body "to discuss . . . ." The substance of the resolution was disclosed to and approved by the administration before the meeting; and after Dr. Kirk had called the meeting to order and Dr. Truman had given a factual report, Professor Bell was recognized and offered his resolution for debate. Paragraph 3 of his resolution was broadened to refer to "Hamilton Hall or any

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other University building"—a significant enlargement, which suggested that the faculty was oblivious to (or deemed immaterial) the special considerations pertinent to Hamilton. The resolution was also supplemented by addition of a fifth paragraph (set out in Dr. Kirk's above-quoted letter to the students in Hamilton), requesting suspension of work on the gym pending review of the matter with "a group of community spokesmen" to be designated by the Mayor. As so amended, the resolution was passed.

In the course of the debate, the faculty rejected by a vote of ninety-nine to fifty-six a proposal for "a moratorium on all standing disciplinary decisions which have been made regarding political events on campus until the relevant facts can be made public and until open hearings involving due process can be held." The defeat of this proposal shows the temper of the meeting on the question of amnesty, which was not otherwise voted upon. Plainly, the refusal to recommend *delay* of disciplinary proceedings implied *a fortiori* a disinclination to renounce them entirely.

Wednesday night rumors swept across the campus, each contributing its charge to the growing tension. Harlem CORE was said to have scheduled a march to Morningside Heights for 6:30 P.M., and evening classes were accordingly canceled. (The march did not materialize, perhaps because of the rain.) Police were seen on and around the campus; WKCR reported that a busload of TPF (the Tactical Patrol Force, specially trained in riot control) sat adjacent to the campus on Amsterdam Avenue—adding that they were dressed like SDS demonstrators. The impression that police action was imminent was reinforced by the report that uniformed policemen were stationed in and around Low Library and in the basement of a Barnard College dormitory. Crowds milled around the steps of Hamilton Hall and on the west side of Low Library, where three hundred legitimists heckled rebel sympathizers as they passed food into the second-floor windows of Dr. Kirk's office.

At 10:45 P.M. an SDS-sponsored "teach-in" (singularly characterized by the absence of audible teachers) attracted some eleven hundred students from the crowds outside. Much of it was broadcast live over WKCR. Widely varied opinions were expressed, many

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of them relating to the SDS plea for a strike the next day. For example, a law student—after expressing distaste for Rudd and his "four-letter vocabulary"—commented:

> Taking a real look at the situation, firemen go on strike, nurses have been going on strike, policemen go on strike and prisoners went on strike in Oregon and burned down five million dollars worth of prison. They held the warden for twelve hours and what charges are pressed against them? Students should have as much right as prisoners or convicts or garbage collectors, and they should be able to talk about these issues.

The difference between a strike *simpliciter* and a strike in support of a building seizure appears to have lost materiality for him. SDS was gaining in its campaign to simplify the issues.

Taking further advantage of the administration's apparent recognition (by reason of its failure to evict the rebels) of the legitimacy of building occupation as a form of protest, Rudd continued the campaign at a meeting attended by 350 students at ten o'clock the next morning, in Wollman Auditorium: "We want to be free students. We can't be free in an institution which supports racism and an imperialist foreign policy. Columbia University has had many chances to demonstrate its willingness to negotiate with us. Instead it has provoked us and refused to engage in rational discussions."

A press conference followed at 11 A.M. Speaking as a member of SDS, Ted Gold declaimed (with live coverage by WKCR):

> . . . the struggle has just begun. What we have to do now is to start doing the work, you know, that we have to do to make this strike a success and to show people, to convince people why the demands are just—to show people why the students and faculty should have control of the University, and to impress upon people that those in the . . . buildings are not just (as the newspapers, both the campus newspapers, perhaps, and all the outside press have been saying) an isolated minority . . . but that they [the administration] haven't the backing of the majority of this University.
>
> That means to make the picket lines visible on campus, one, and second, to talk to students and faculty and explain to them what the demands are about, to convince people who aren't yet with us that they should be with us, that their interest lies with us and, you know, just basically that the fight, that this has got to be the begin-

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ning right now of a real student movement on this campus including everybody.

Carpe diem.

Shortly afterward SDS member Jeffrey Sokoloff submitted to an interview in the WKCR studio, and explained in selfless terms the necessity of amnesty:

> We feel that [for] the University to grant amnesty would be an admission that students have a right to take action, to seek redress for grievances, and that the students' demands are justified. That's the reason for seeking amnesty, that you have the right to seek redress effectively. And the second reason for amnesty is that we refuse to negotiate while the University is holding a club over our heads.

Mimeo machines ground out an endless series of leaflets that hammered away at the illegitimacy of the administration and its rules, and the consequent legitimacy of the rebellion. One, addressed to the faculty, explained that

> the rules established by the Administration are not legitimate. For, 1) the Administration in making these rules is responsible only to the trustees. The interests and concerns of these men go outside the University and are not those of the students and faculty. Yet, it is students and faculty who are governed by the Administration. 2) The rules the Administration lays down are inconsistently enforced. This year there were several indoor demonstrations in violation of the ban. Yet, the Administration disciplined students only for the last violation before the present crisis. This suggests that the Administration's action was taken as a political reprisal and not impartial enforcement.

Another, for student consumption, was in simpler vein:

> We demand that the administration recognize our right to participate in the restructuring of the University, and also recognize the legitimacy of our demands by agreeing that there shall be no legal or disciplinary reprisals against those who participated in the demonstrations on campus or on the gym site. . . .

Not only was the administration said to have acknowledged its illegitimacy by its failure to call in the police; also, one leaflet pointed out, there was no reason to fear the arrival of police because, should they come, "opinion on this campus will move

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toward our side, and against those whose authority proved to be so bankrupt that they had to use force."

Mimeographed leaflets also provided a medium for inter-building counseling. They were typically terse and practical, but sloppier. One, marked with the legend "THIS OUTLINE IS MEANT ONLY FOR INTERNAL USE," included this advice:

> 3. The demonstration has proved (by the acceptance of our substantive issues) by almost all sides—faculty, CUSC [Columbia University Student Council], Cit. Council [Citizenship Council], Law School—that the administration is illegitimate, and that we need no longer deal with them.
>
> 4. So we certainly don't have to ask them (the administration—but we will ask the Faculty—And will continue to do so in our own negotiations with them, standing unified in this matter) for amnesty.

A later "internal memo" weighed amnesty pro and con:

> If we make concessions, rhetorical or substantive, on amnesty we may win in return the granting of other of our demands. However, we lose the essential political point that the administration is illegitimate and must be forced to de facto declare itself illegitimate by granting amnesty before real substantive structural changes can occur.

X

The campus had come awake Thursday morning to find two more buildings occupied. Avery Hall, which houses the School of Architecture, had been "liberated" by architecture students through the simple device of defying the closing hour and an order to go home. They announced support for the six rebel demands, and added their own demand that Columbia stop overrunning "adjacent areas," seek more non-white students, and let students and "the community" participate in university decision-making. They also had esthetic objections to the gym, and spent the night in a "design-in" to develop a more acceptable form for a new gym to be built somewhere else.

The other newly "liberated" building was Fayerweather Hall, locus of graduate social studies. Led by an economics instructor who had a key, a group of graduate students occupied and barricaded the building between midnight and dawn.

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At about 11 A.M. that day (Thursday), the legitimists made their first serious bid at Fayerweather; a group of them, opposed by rebel sympathizers—the total crowd numbered about four hundred—tried to tear down the barricades. According to an on-the-spot report by WKCR,

> . . . many students or we should say a few students wanted to get into their classrooms along with their faculty members, and started shouting on the outside that they wanted to get in. At this point, they were joined by a number of athletes and it looked for a while as if we were going to have a good, a considerable amount of violence here. They started banging on the doors, and chanting and shouting and screaming, and there were no police around, there were no administration officials, and we might have been in for some real trouble here.

Violence was averted by improvisation of a discussion session, moderated and participated in by faculty members dispatched from 301 Philosophy at the suggestion of SDS. The tension eased, and the rebel sympathizers drifted over to Earl Hall for the SDS press conference referred to above.

Again at 1:30 P.M., at a meeting in the old gymnasium, the legitimists mobilized; and again they were talked into irresolution. A crowd of more than five hundred, about half of them athletes, cheered Jim Quattrocchi (a junior on the wrestling team) as he proposed a blockade of Hamilton Hall to prevent "anyone or anything" from getting in or out. WKCR tried to provide live coverage of the event, but the noise level was too high; so current reports were instead relayed by a man on the scene. After another speaker had complained that the press was slanting the news in favor of the rebels, "suppressing the truth in order to sell papers," the WKCR man said: ". . . they're very upset and the crowd is being worked up into really a fever pitch, and I wouldn't be surprised after they leave here that they go over to Hamilton or run over to some other place and there could be a considerable degree of violence." The studio man, commenting on the "tremendous amount of noise," said it "seems like a basketball game is going on."

Then basketball coach Jack Rohan took the floor, and told the angry athletes not to "act like heavies in a grade B movie." He

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added that they should not descend to the anarchic level of SDS. Dean Coleman followed with a reprise of his argument at Hamilton the previous afternoon. He said that amnesty was opposed by the president and nearly all the faculty, and said he expected Dr. Kirk to "take definitive action, possibly by this evening." The prediction was interpreted as an assurance. It had the desired effect, and the self-help movement dissipated for the time being. But when the prediction did not come true, there was bitterness.

SDS meanwhile pushed ahead with dormitory meetings and picket lines. In the course of the afternoon picket lines were manned at Low Library, in front of Uris Hall (the Business School), and in the lobbies of Havemeyer and Mathematics Halls. About 160 girls staged a sympathetic sit-down on the steps of Barnard Hall. Outside Lewisohn Hall (General Studies) three to four hundred demonstrators were enough to convince Dean Clarence C. Walton that the building should be closed to forestall its occupation.

At Wollman Auditorium a pro-SDS "teach-in" continued through the afternoon. A petition supporting the six rebel demands was hawked around the campus, while an opposing petition deploring SDS tactics was attracting some 1,700 signatures.

Meanwhile a crowd fluctuating (as competing events flashed and faded) between one hundred and 250, thronged the steps of Hamilton. Mau Mau leader Charles 37X Kenyatta was present; however, the visit of H. Rap Brown, promised by Rudd at the morning news conference, did not materialize until the next day.

All this frenetic activity took place without benefit of any official communiqué from the administration until the middle of Thursday afternoon, when a press conference (promised over WKCR from time to time throughout the morning but unaccountably delayed) was finally held. Meanwhile the general uneasiness grew; and it was aggravated by a growing sense that no one, not even the rebels, had control. The mood was expressed by a WKCR commentator who noted that the rebels were maintaining communication with each other by means of walkie-talkies, but nevertheless voiced his worry:

> . . . we had a report earlier that said that SDS had not planned anything after the rally scheduled for . . . Tuesday—so that would sug-

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> gest that what's happened has sort of been a type of mob rule, in a way. Now I wouldn't quite want to go that far, maybe. I heard an SDS member this morning say . . . that they were still in control of the demonstration if not the University. On the other hand, I can't, in good faith, agree with that statement. It seems too obvious to me that there's a lot that's not in control, though apparently there is communication. If communication means control, then they are in control. But I don't see that there's any organized plan of action. It seems to be take what you can get and hold it as long as you can.

An army of occupation is an affliction even if kept under tight discipline. If its officers lose control of it, it is a wild beast.

XI

The Wednesday afternoon resolution of the College faculty was the last significant action taken by regular faculty procedures until after the police had cleared the buildings in the small hours of the following Tuesday morning. During the intervening days, the center of teacher activity was 301 Philosophy Hall, where the junior faculty (largely excluded from official faculty meetings[14]) were welcome and were much in evidence.

On Thursday morning about seventy-five teachers who had gathered there decided it would be a good idea to seek implementation of the College faculty's proposal for a tripartite body to discuss disciplinary problems. They sent word to Dr. Kirk that three of their number (Dr. Trilling, psychology professor Eugene Galanter, and English professor Carl Hovde) would, if invited, serve as a committee to formulate a specific recommendation. At noon Dr. Kirk did extend the invitation, and thereafter hundreds of photocopies of his letter—saying that he had appointed the three professors "to recommend to me the structure, the personnel, and the appropriate procedures for the tripartite commission"—were distributed on campus.

At three o'clock that afternoon the administration held its press conference in the Faculty Room of Low Library. Dr. Kirk said:

[14] There is some variation among the different faculties. All of them grant faculty "seats" to professors and associate professors; none grants seats to instructors, teaching assistants, associates, or preceptors. The practice varies as to assistant professors.

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> The University is committed to maintaining order on the campus. We insist that there be respect for the rules and conditions that make University life possible. We have exercised great restraint in the use of police and security forces, because at almost all costs, we wish to avoid physical confrontation. We have constantly tried to communicate with those students who have seized the buildings, and as late as this morning, contact was made with all of the protesting groups, but with no success. We are prepared to talk with the protesting groups, but disciplinary action will have to be taken against those students who flagrantly violated University rules. The students have had ample opportunity to leave the buildings and to engage in *lawful* protest if they so desire.

This cannot fairly be described as a hard line. There was no demand that the law be obeyed for its own sake. There was an expression of strong distaste for use of the police. The refusal of amnesty was in line with the position taken the previous afternoon by the College faculty. But a number of teachers were disturbed. They said they found the press conference "disconcerting . . . because the President and Vice President took a very strong position—a 'We have no alternative but to turn to law and order' type of presentation." And they invited Dr. Truman to counsel with them in 301 Philosophy Hall.

A few minutes later Dr. Truman—having delayed only for a brief and abortive parley with Rudd outside Dr. Kirk's office, pursuant to an evidently erroneous report that Rudd wanted to talk with him—joined the faculty gathering. For about twenty minutes he reviewed the facts with them, pointing out that the cost of canceling the gym would be heavy—he estimated it at six million dollars—and saying, in response to a question, that there was nothing the faculty could do to help. He then excused himself, saying that he had to attend another meeting.

Later events were to prove that Dr. Truman was quite right in his appraisal of the desirability of faculty action. He had good reason to believe that, if the faculty were to rouse itself from its long sleep and charge into an already confused and difficult situation, the results would not be good. But he was quite wrong in his evident belief that the teachers would submit to his opinion in this regard. Nine hours later this failure of perception on his part was to prove tragic.

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The word tragic is apt because, in ordinary circumstances, David B. Truman would have been fully sensitive to the nuances of faculty temper. Himself a distinguished teacher and scholar, not only respected but liked by his colleagues during his seventeen years at Columbia, he had moved into administration only a few years before and had maintained full contact with his co-workers during his five years as dean of the College and his ten months as vice-president and provost of the University. Had he not been dog-tired after two virtually sleepless days and nights, he might have realized that the teachers—not fully aware of the administration's efforts and frustrations (which had not been made public and which he could hardly have related to them effectively in the brief meeting Thursday afternoon), and distressed at the rapid and increasing deterioration of the social fabric of the campus—felt a strong obligation to take an active part. Perhaps he counted too heavily on the obviousness of the necessity to close ranks in the face of an assault on the whole concept of rational discourse, and could not believe that the teachers would themselves rebel. In any event, he did not sense the danger.

When he left 301 Philosophy, there was a short discussion that brought into the open the general feeling of disappointment. Then one of the group said: "We have business to do here. I am going to ask Professor [Alan F.] Westin if he will come forth and take charge. It is not enough to be talked to by the administration. We ought to do something as a faculty." Professor Westin later described this as "the birth moment of the Ad Hoc Faculty Group." He did come forth, and served as chairman of the AHFG until the dramatic moment the following Tuesday morning when, finally perceiving the consequences of the course the AHFG was taking, he walked off the platform at its largest, climactic meeting to forestall a further destructive action—and thereby brought its short but memorable career to a close.

Within the few hours after its birth the AHFG delivered itself of the following resolution:

> We, the undersigned members of the Columbia University faculty and teaching staff, make the following proposal to resolve the present crisis:
>
> (1.) We request the Trustees to implement the immediate cessation of excavation on the gymnasium site, by telephone vote if necessary.

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(2.) We request the administration to delegate all disciplinary power on matters related to the present crisis to the tripartite committee, consisting of students, faculty and administration.

(3.) We request the students to evacuate all buildings now, and we pledge our faith and influence towards a solution. Should the students be willing to evacuate the buildings, we will not meet classes until the crisis is resolved along the above lines.

(4.) Until this crisis is settled, we will stand before the occupied buildings to prevent forcible entry by police or others.

(5.) No matter what has happened, we consider these students members of our community. We do not contemplate their being dismissed and we would oppose violently any such action.

About 150 signatures were obtained by 7:30 P.M., and another 150 later on. Many more expressed their approval in other ways.

This was not suasion but threat of action, and action by a group of teachers large enough to cripple the University. The three "requests" were evidently more than requests, being followed by pledges to act. The first "request" went no farther than the College faculty resolution, but the second called upon Dr. Kirk not simply to consult with the tripartite disciplinary committee but to delegate his disciplinary authority to it.

On principle there is much to be said for tripartite disciplinary procedure; experience at other universities has shown that it can be made to work, and the disciplinary function is a painful nuisance to the president himself. But to make such a change as a means of pacifying an ongoing rebellion—to change the rules of the disciplinary game as part of a settlement with rule-breakers, giving them or their sympathizers a voice in adjudicating their delicts—teaches the fearsome lesson that might makes right.

There was also another reason for hesitating to divest the president of the ultimate disciplinary authority, until a considered legal opinion (or perhaps even a declaratory judgment) could be obtained on a technical but important question of law. It has been argued that the Columbia charter precludes the sharing of disciplinary power with students. Columbia has one of the few charters ancient enough to enjoy the benefit of the Supreme Court's 1819 decision in *Dartmouth College* v. *Woodward*. There the Court held that corporate charters cannot be amended without the corporation's consent, unless the power to do so has been reserved

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in the grant of the charter. Soon thereafter the several states adopted the practice of subjecting all new charters to such a reservation of power, and requiring consent to such a reservation as a precondition to amendment of old charters at the corporation's instance. For more than a century, it is said, Columbia has carefully kept the old charter unamended, to escape subjection to the reserve power; it has feared that the state would use the power to deprive Columbia of its unique exemption from the supervisory authority of the New York State Board of Regents—a status that guarantees its continued independence as a private university. True, the AHFG "requested" only delegation of the president's disciplinary power—not, *in haec verba,* amendment of the charter to conform with the actual fact as to the new locus of power. True, non-lawyer members of the AHFG were heard to render sage opinions that the charter amendment problem could easily be sidestepped if the right words were used. Some reputable lawyers, however, have voiced doubts; and on matters of such importance, shooting from the hip may be rash.[15]

AHFG's third "request" was explicitly coupled with a promise and a threat. The student rebels were asked to evacuate the buildings. They were promised that, if they did, the AHFG would help find "a solution." And a faculty strike was threatened to coerce a solution. All this was to take place only if the student rebels came out of the buildings, the AHFG assumption being either that the amnesty demand was susceptible to compromise or that the students would regard the proposed tripartite disciplinary set-up as the practical equivalent of amnesty. Months later the latter proposition turned out to be almost true, and the students may have been bright enough to foresee this; but we have already reviewed the reasons why they were determined to stand pat on their insistence upon amnesty in name as well as in fact. For the next four days the AHFG was to exhaust itself in clever and protean efforts to budge them from this position, only to be met with refusal and eventual resentment.

Since the third "request" was based on the premise that the circle could be squared, its accompanying threat had little actual

[15] The same problem inheres in other proposals occasioned by the rebellion, such as faculty representation on the Board of Trustees.

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meaning. It cannot quite be said that the strike pledge, being empty because hedged with a condition that could not be satisfied, was *entirely* without significance; there is significance in the pointing of an empty gun, and in a threat to pull the trigger, if the would-be shooter *thinks* the gun is loaded. But the resolution's lethal charge was contained in paragraphs 4 and 5.

Paragraph 4 gave a crisp answer to the question that the Trilling group had not even articulated: If the choice is between amnesty and police action, which is worse? The AHFG answer was that police action was worse, and that they would "stand before the buildings to prevent" it. This is not quite a pledge of violent resistance, but it comes close. It may not mean that the police are to be forcibly resisted, but does seem to mean the establishment of a cordon that the police would have to use force to penetrate—and at least some of the AHFG were soon to show by their actions that they so understood it. On the other hand, paragraph 5 dispelled any notion that the use of violence was repudiated as a matter of principle, since it was an explicit promise to oppose "violently" the dismissal of students.

On its face the resolution was a declaration of rebellion. Unlike the SDS, however, the AHFG made no frontal attack on the power of the administration. Rather, it moved to grasp the power to impose its own terms on the other contending parties. But its threat was more weighty than that of the student rebels, since the AHFG appeared to possess the power to tear away a sizable chunk of the faculty. The sleeping lion had awakened.

Within six hours after adopting the resolution the AHFG was to prove that it meant business. But before telling how that came about, let us appraise its unconditional opposition to police action. As has been observed, there is a long tradition against intervention of the police in campus matters, a tradition for which the administration had already shown great respect. But the tradition has not demanded an absolute wall of separation. Few would question the summoning of police to deal with serious crime such as murder or arson. Nor had the campus community condemned the calling of police on prior occasions to deal with violent student protest, as was done upon the disruption of the Naval ROTC ceremony in 1965. The tradition was that police should not be used *unless* the University found itself unable to handle the situa-

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tion effectively through its own personnel and procedures. By Thursday afternoon it was plain that this condition had been satisfied. Therefore we must look elsewhere to account for the AHFG position.

In the course of the next few days of struggle and the months of analysis and rationalization that followed, various explanations were offered. It was said, for example, that the University, by its indifference to student and faculty opinion, had destroyed the legitimacy of its power and could only regain it by negotiating a peace with the rebels. In view of the extreme nature of the SDS demands this could mean surrender of the University to student control, or perhaps to student-faculty control. At a minimum it meant amnesty, with its concomitant recognition that violence is an acceptable mode of protest.

A somewhat narrower argument was that legitimacy had been lost because the University had fostered militarism and racism, and could not rightly invoke the law against those who had been driven to violence as the only available means of registering objection to these particular, first-magnitude evils. This argument had to be based either on the shaky proposition that Dr. Kirk, Dr. Truman, and their associates favored the Vietnam war and opposed justice to the Negro, or on the vaguer premise that Columbia's acts and omissions were in fact promoting racism and militarism, though unintentionally. The latter premise encountered the severe practical difficulty that there was little hope for consensus as to what it would take to purge Columbia of its sickness. On the SAS assumption that Columbia was part of the "one oppressor," nothing would seem to suffice except drastic reformation of the whole society—obviously a big enough job to delay the return of legitimacy (and peace) to the campus for quite a while. Another position, still more limited, was that legitimacy could be reacquired if, but only if, Columbia devoted a major part of its effort to community services more direct than the education of young people in the skills necessary for *their* effective work on social problems.

There were also some faculty members who were frankly attracted by the *carpe diem* appeal. Few campus denizens thought that conditions were perfect, and an opportunity to extract concessions seemed to be finally at hand. As might have been ex-

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pected on a campus populated by intelligent and imaginative people, the variations were legion.

But another motivation, and perhaps the dominant one, was less intellectualized than any of these. It was the humane fear that injection of the police into a situation so large and so lawless was bound to get a lot of youngsters hurt.

The sadness is that humane instincts are not enough. They can be downright dangerous if, erected into absolutes and pursued without regard to the alternatives actually available, they induce blindness to reality. The wars fought and the atrocities committed in the confident and self-righteous service of God, justice, and humanity have made the angels weep.

On the Columbia campus during the last week in April the dominating reality was that the network of relationships and obligations on which some twenty thousand people depended, as a milieu for meaningful work, had been ruptured and was on the verge of irretrievable breakdown. Except for a few zealots who believed in the viability of a continuing anarchy, and a few others who had simply elected to resign from a rotten world—mainly the occupants of the buildings, some of whom appear to have spent their days of encysted isolation in hypnotizing each other to believe that they had achieved a new and permanently euphoric level of existence—no one believed that such a state of affairs would be allowed to last long. If the building occupants would not vacate without amnesty (as they would not), and if amnesty was not available to them (as it was not), the only real question was whether the police were to be called in sooner or later. And in that context the more humane course was to call them sooner.

Perhaps this judgment was beclouded by apprehension—partly, but only partly, well founded—that the police could not be counted upon to do a professional job of work in the clearing of the buildings. Many thought it a foregone conclusion that the police, if unleashed, would advance upon their prey with sadistic fury, completely disregarding their legal duty to use no more than necessary force. The few members of the campus community who had had experience as practicing lawyers (most of whom were teachers in the Law School) knew something about the capabilities and limitations of the constabulary, and realized that although the New York police can be rough, they do not ordinarily

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behave like mad dogs. But many of the teachers who adhered to the AHFG (and, of course, most of the students) knew little about policemen except what they had read in books. Their readings in history had taught them that police plus mob equals brutality, and the stereotype was unblurred. Having had little experience with police actions of any kind, they would in fact have been shocked by *any* application of force to a human being, however necessary it might be; the arrest of a resisting or even a non-cooperating person is not a pretty thing. As it turned out their rigid horror of police brutality operated as a self-fulfilling prophecy; the loathing they propagated, bursting forth through the lips of profanely scolding mobs, and prompting even physical attack on the hated Cossacks, was to trigger such police brutality as did take place when the buildings were eventually cleared. And, as it also turned out, more blood was shed that following Tuesday morning than would have been spilled if the AHFG had adjourned *sine die* Thursday afternoon, without adopting its resolution.

But we are ahead of our story. Let us return to the events of Thursday night.

XII

While the AHFG labored on its resolution, excursions and alarums continued to roll over the campus. Crowds of students gathered on the plaza in front of Low Library, on the steps of Hamilton Hall, and on College Walk.[16] A group of twenty-five or thirty white neighbors staged a march outside the Amsterdam Avenue gate of the Walk, to protest the gym and express support for the occupants of Hamilton Hall. A number of students stood by, a few of them heckling.

At the Broadway end of College Walk, some fifty to one hundred or more legitimists formed a defensive cordon to block invasion by two other marches that were thought to be converging

[16] College Walk runs east and west across the campus, spanning the block between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway where 116 Street used to be. At its Amsterdam Avenue end Hamilton Hall abuts on its south side. The sundial lies on the same side, halfway to Broadway. Low Plaza lies across the Walk from the sundial; Low Library and the broad steps leading up to it are located beyond the Plaza.

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on the campus—one by Harlem CORE and SNCC, and one by SDS sympathizers from the New York area. At about 9 P.M. Omar Ahmed and Charles 37X Kenyatta, who had spent much of the afternoon and early evening in Hamilton Hall, addressed a rally of Harlem residents outside the Broadway gate. Meanwhile the crowd of students inside the gate had grown to about a thousand, some of them legitimists and some rebel sympathizers. When the speeches ended Kenyatta began to lead the group into the campus and the legitimists linked arms to bar the way. The situation was defused by a face-saving agreement mediated by Chief Waithe, who knew Kenyatta as a man with the knack of quieting riots by talking big and doing little. The deal was that the blacks would enter the campus but, instead of remaining there, would proceed directly across College Walk, out the gate at the other end, and on to the gym site. Dean Coleman still had enough influence to persuade the legitimists to let the two hundred or so blacks through their line; and Kenyatta, true to his word, piped them on to Morningside Park where another fiery speech provided further catharsis, and the crowd dispersed.

A little after 10 P.M. a tense crowd of 150 to two hundred stood outside the AHFG cordon at Hamilton, looking on as several figures climbed into the building from the roof of the adjoining annex. A watching WKCR reporter expressed fear that the newcomers might be white, saying, "At this stage of the game, anything can happen here." But they turned out to be black.

A rumor spread that a hundred legitimists, impatient with the administration's inaction, were on their way from the sundial to Hamilton to administer vigilante justice. WKCR reported them to be "chanting very loudly and what sounds like ferociously." Evidently the group did not reach Hamilton, perhaps being diverted to join a group of 750 legitimists who were meeting in Wollman Auditorium. Or perhaps the WKCR reporter was mistaken in thinking that Hamilton was the group's destination. The shouting may have emanated from a group of four hundred legitimists who, after rallying at the sundial, moved to Fayerweather Hall and—intent on pulling "the hippies, Commies and pukes out of the building"—stormed the barricades for the second time that day.

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The scene can be most vividly recaptured by extracts from the WKCR reports:

Reporter: Crowds of students have just run by, apparently about 50 or 60 just ran by.

A voice: I just spoke to some athletes, and they said they're going to go after Fayerweather Hall right now. They're running over to Fayerweather right now and they're not waiting for anybody to stop.

Reporter: Bob, apparently there was going to be some violence. About now, we see about a hundred people walking toward Fayerweather. Some of them do have poles [steel poles about three feet long and half an inch in diameter, taken from the lawn where they supported ropes around the new grass], they're walking right by us now.

. . . . . .

Second reporter (from inside Fayerweather): Almost immediately below, a group of thirty, perhaps forty, they're coming in greater numbers, are coming over here. We can't tell exactly who they are. There's about a hundred in the yard.

Studio man: Has there been any entrance into the building so far by any of these demonstrators?

Fayerweather reporter: No, there's arguments in front here.

. . . . . .

Third reporter (at sundial): There are about a hundred or so student athletes at the sundial. They met there and their feeling was that the police should have stopped these fellows [the Kenyatta group] from coming on campus. They feel that the police have given way and they then, someone proposed that instead of coming over here and clearing the building out themselves, that they speak to Dean Coleman. . . . They're now coming towards Hamilton Hall. In any case, we're supposedly going to go to speak to Dean Coleman, but that was shouted down on the ground that Dean Coleman had been unable to accomplish anything at all.

. . . . . .

First reporter: I have a microphone cable in front of Fayerweather Hall. It looks like about 250 students are gathering in front of the barricaded door in Fayerweather Hall. There now seems to be some shouts and screams—can anybody hear them? The faculty is in front. . .

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Fourth reporter: We were down at the original beginning of this, down along College Walk. What happened was the athletes were rallying, they said that demands were promised them this afternoon —this afternoon, Dean Coleman promised the athletes that action would be taken by tonight. Most of them got a little bit angry. There were a few arguments. Finally, they decided to march.

Fayerweather reporter: There are about three or four hundred people massed in front of the entrance. They're about six or seven deep, and they're trying to talk to a group of about fifty jocks [athletes] that are lined up in front of them in a semicircle. On the lawn behind the hedgerow, there's a group of about 150 or so observers who apparently are friendly to the demonstrators and others who are friendly to the jocks. More people are coming in over from St. Paul's Chapel, and things are getting pretty tense. They're shouting back and forth at one another.... We're leaning out the window, the fourth floor. The building is completely barricaded, nobody can get in or out. All the windows have been closed up. They are prepared to put up violent resistance on the fifth floor, non-violent resistance on the first floor. There has been a report that there are armed weapons or at least one in the building.

. . . . . .

Fifth reporter: We were out in front there. There are a lot of professors there. It seems that a lot of professors are taking the line of the people defending Fayerweather. People defending Fayerweather are down to the bottom of the steps and they have a line going across. They are about ten or twelve lines deep now and professors are joining the people who are defending Fayerweather. Right now, there's a lot of pushing, a lot of shoving and you just heard some booing.

A voice: The lights are flicking on and off. They've turned off the electricity.

. . . . . .

First reporter: Electricity appears to be off. The whole affair appears to be completely dark.

. . . . . .

Fourth reporter: There is a debate between the faculty and the students. The faculty is lining the steps, they're trying to prevent any type of violence. Originally, one of the students came up and spoke. They said they had taken enough from SDS for the past three years. Professor Seymour Melman is on the steps urging that there be no violence, saying that two wrongs don't make a right, saying that the

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students stay back or that there will be no university next year or the next.

. . . . . .

Second Fayerweather reporter: Well, inside, tremendous preparations are going on for a barricade. Huge file cabinets have been taken downstairs and placed against windows. There is no entry in or out of the building. I went out of the building briefly and in order to get back in, it took a vote of the entire population of Fayerweather Hall to vote me back in the building. The building is completely sealed off now. The crowd outside is enormous and growing every minute. It's very vocal. Someone compared these riots down here to the disintegration of certain European cities. The mood in the building is very, very tense. Prior to this, before a crowd materialized, a group in the main lounge of Fayerweather Hall was given instructions on how to deal with tear gas and Mace. . . . It's a very frightening scene here.

. . . . . .

Fourth reporter: The students have been accusing the professors, the faculty, of selling them out. . . . What's happening is that the faculty volunteered to send some of their representatives over to Philosophy Hall to meet with the dissident jocks. The only trouble is that the jocks are saying right now that if anybody moves, what's going to happen is that somebody is going to get their skulls crushed. . . .

Studio man: Do there appear to be any weapons around? Skull crushing would seem to imply that there was some kind of weapons present.

First reporter: When I was monitoring from St. Paul's, I saw an awful lot of weapons. We've got another report. Apparently what happened was that the student athletes dropped their weapons. However, we have a report that they picked them back up again.

Eventually the legitimists did agree to send four or five representatives to meet with the AHFG in 301 Philosophy at 11 P.M., and another crisis eased. The AHFG parleyed with them and with half a dozen SDS leaders, and continued in session. Then the evening reached its crescendo with the occupation of a fifth building, Mathematics Hall, by an SDS task force detached from Dr. Kirk's occupied office in Low Library.

This was enough to convince the administration that the police

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had to be called in. Dr. Kirk, alarmed by the menacing situation at Fayerweather and elsewhere, had phoned the Mayor about midnight and had made a tentative request for police help. Then, when he heard that Mathematics Hall had fallen, the decision was made. And Dr. Truman, feeling an obligation to inform his faculty colleagues and still failing to sense their temper, made a serious mistake. He went to the AHFG meeting in 301 Philosophy and, speaking from the back of the room, said:

> Gentlemen, I want to make an announcement that I expect most of you will not like. Another building, Mathematics, has just been taken over by the striking students and the situation has reached such a point that we have no alternative except to call in the police. In ten minutes the President will call Mayor Lindsay to request such action. Thank you for your concern and efforts. I'm terribly sorry.

He then turned and walked out.

The effect was electric. There were cries of "No, no" and "Shame." And the teachers flooded out to surround the buildings and resist the entry of the police—and of the legitimists, should they try to break in.

Within the next hour and a half the AHFG, with the administration's consent, tried and failed to negotiate a last-minute settlement with the student rebels; huge crowds of students joined the AHFG in front of the buildings, shouting, "Kirk must go"; the police arrived and tried to force their way into Low, roughing up a number of resisters and drawing blood from one instructor of French; an AHFG leader, with the blood wet on his hand, showed it to Dr. Truman saying, "Faculty blood has begun to be shed here"; and the administration gave way. At 2:30 A.M. Dr. Truman appeared outside Low and, speaking through a bullhorn, made the announcement:

> The faculty committee has persuaded the University administration to postpone the request for police action on campus while the faculty and administration continue their efforts to effect a peaceful solution to the situation. Necessary security arrangements will of course be maintained. To encourage these efforts, the University will be closed until Monday. At the request of the Mayor and without prejudice to continuation at a later time, we have suspended construction on the gymnasium pending further discussion.

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XIII

The witches' brew was now complete. As of the moment when the administration yielded to the AHFG's demand to call off the police, the events of the next seventy-two hours (culminating in clearance of the buildings by the police before dawn on Tuesday) were predetermined in all important respects. Small variations were still possible: The police action might have been accelerated or postponed somewhat, and it might have been executed with greater or less brutality than it was. More important, a great deal could have been done to lay a basis for a better *aftermath*. But the AHFG rebellion killed the last chance that the several centers of power on the campus, or any achievable coalition of them, could break the deadlock. Resort to outside power was the only way open; in that essential respect, the upshot was foreordained.

We shall not describe in detail the thrashing efforts to forestall it. Teachers and groups of teachers, including the AHFG, did their best. Public officials endeavored to mediate. The administration's efforts continued right down to Monday midnight. Much has been written, and written well, about this phase of the rebellion. Much could still be written. But for our purposes those developments, interesting as they are, have but secondary importance. We therefore limit ourselves to the major events.

As had been known beforehand, a large peace demonstration scheduled elsewhere in the city had imposed a first lien on the services of available policemen Friday and Saturday. Sunday was the earliest that they could be recalled to Morningside Heights, so that a two-day moratorium was unavoidable. During that time the AHFG exerted itself to the point of sleepless exhaustion in efforts to bring about a negotiated peace. Its emissaries to the occupied buildings encountered a stone wall. From time to time there were breathless flurries of hope in 301 Philosophy, as when a professor brought word that Fayerweather might settle without amnesty if discipline were turned over to a student-faculty tribunal (no administrators). But, during the whole five days that the AHFG existed, there was never a noticeable break in the solidarity of the five buildings; and the Fayerweather feeler was quickly rejected by the student committee in charge of the rebellion.

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For a while on Friday there was widespread misunderstanding of the AHFG position. Both the SDS and the legitimists thought that AHFG resistance to forcible evacuation of the buildings the night before had implied approval of the occupation. The mistake was corrected quickly. The emissaries to the buildings made it clear that the AHFG stand was against violence, not in favor of amnesty (or fully in favor of any of the rebels' substantive demands, except with respect to the gym). And at an AHFG meeting on Friday at 10 A.M. the same explanation was given to a leader of the legitimists who had appeared before the group to register indignation at what the AHFG had done, and to warn of a possibly violent reaction from his group.

The student rebels in the occupied buildings talked patiently with the AHFG emissaries, but soon grew angry at their seeming inability to understand why amnesty was essential from the students' viewpoint. About one o'clock Saturday morning Rudd made the point unmistakably clear. At a long negotiating session with Professor Westin and two others Friday afternoon and evening, the divergence of views was made explicit. One of the student negotiators later recalled: "Rudd suggested that the professors join with us. He told Westin, 'Students and faculty can take over the University.' Westin, shocked out of his mind, said in as intellectual a way as possible that it was impossible and absurd." And Westin later reported: "They said that President Kirk and Vice President Truman must resign, that we must change the corporate structure of the University in order to institute the changes they wanted to have achieved, so that faculty and students would have all the decision-making power. . . . They reiterated their six demands."

Shortly before 1 A.M. Westin was summoned to 301 Philosophy by a telephone report that an amnesty proposal was about to come up for a vote and needed his discouragement. Rudd received a similar call from a pro-amnesty AHFG member who told him the vote would be close and that a word from Rudd might put it over. So Rudd followed Westin to the meeting.

On his arrival Westin found that the actual proposal was not for amnesty *eo nomine* but for replacement of the tripartite disciplinary proposal with a proposal for a bipartite tribunal, eliminating the administration. He also found that the proposal had

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been tabled. Taking the chair, he gave an encouraging report on his negotiations and called on Rudd to speak. Rudd was blunt:

> We had exploratory talks . . . very exploratory, more in the line of bullshit. . . . It's going to be impossible to discipline people for all these crimes. . . . There is only one solution: recognize that these are political acts and the reasons behind them are political. . . . Amnesty is the only real solution. I ask that this group grant us amnesty with the understanding that what we did was right.

There it was, crudely put but clear as daylight. The teachers were shocked as much by the scornful, insulting characterization of their efforts as by the revelation of the inflexibility of the student rebels. Westin declared the meeting adjourned and walked out of the room.

The legitimists also became disenchanted fairly soon with the AHFG position. The explanation given to their leader at the AHFG meeting Friday morning left much to be desired as an assurance that the AHFG would offer any resistance at all to continued disregard of the rules.

Moreover, both the legitimists and the student rebels grew irritated at the indecision and confusion that attended the AHFG's efforts to maintain cordons around the occupied buildings, so as to limit passage in and out. Orders from 301 Philosophy as to the precise terms of the protective blockade were issued and countermanded. Should food be excluded as contraband? Medical supplies? Medication intended not for medical treatment but for protection against tear gas or Mace? If a student rebel left the building, should the AHFG guards relieve him of his university identification card, which was needed as a passport into the sealed campus? Soon *legitimist* cordons were formed outside the AHFG cordons, and imposed their own rules—which were stricter than those of the AHFG.

At about this time the teachers, both inside and outside the AHFG, began to develop interest in a proposal of their own which formed no part of the initial demands of the student rebels. The teachers saw the aloofness of the administration as a major cause of disaffection, and believed that the way to peace was to be found through "restructuring" the University to give faculty and students (particularly faculty) a more effective role in decision-mak-

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ing. Eventually this proposal was to bear good fruit. The student rebels, however, regarded it as a distraction; as an effort to buy them off with a mess of "co-optation"; and as a parasitic, opportunistic use of their rebellion by the faculty as a lever to get something for itself.

This was also a time for more or less bizarre proposals designed as open sesames to consensus. Perhaps the most transparently disingenuous was a proposal that, because the rebellion was a collective act, *therefore* the punishment should also be "collective"; and the Aesopian meaning of that term was spelled out as part of the so-called "bitter pill" resolution of AHFG (to be more fully described in a moment) as follows: "We believe that the dimensions and complexity of the current crisis demand that a new approach of collective responsibility be adopted, and in this light insist that uniform penalties be applied to all violators of the discipline of the University." This proposal had the remarkable quality of being fundamentally objectionable to both sides. It denied to the student rebels what they wanted most: an admission that they had been right. On the other hand, uniform punishment clearly and admittedly meant that no one was to be punished more severely than the least guilty violator could rightly be punished, it being unthinkable that the least guilty should suffer for the offenses of others. But the least guilty could hardly be given heavier punishment than Dr. Kirk had offered, and was still offering, to the occupants of Hamilton Hall—disciplinary warning. Thus the whole group, from Rudd on down, would get no more than an official frown.

Another proposal which was almost equally bizarre, but was actually put into effect early in May and remained effective until September 12, was that the tripartite disciplinary body should function both as a legislature and as an appellate tribunal. It was to prescribe uniform standards of punishment for various categories of offenses and then, after hearings had been held and penalties assessed in the respective schools, the rulings of the trial tribunals were to be appealable to the rule-making body. In the beginning the British House of Lords functioned in this manner (and theoretically it still does), but it has long since recognized that legislative control of judgments is incompatible with the

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rule of law, and none of the nine hundred peers other than the handful of non-hereditary law lords would now dream of sitting as a court of appeal.

The "bitter pill" resolution represented a shift of effort from mediation, which had proved ineffective, to imposed settlement. The resolution was formulated by the AHFG steering committee between midnight and 6 A.M., Sunday. In addition to the uniform punishment proposal it provided that the president's disciplinary authority be vested instead in the tripartite commission, and stipulated that "representatives of the community" (meaning some undefined off-campus constituency) should have a veto power over any plan to complete the gym on the park site. The resolution repeated the earlier call for an end to the building occupation. It went on to declare that unless the president complied with the AHFG demands, "we shall take all measures within our several consciences to prevent the use of force to vacate the buildings," and that if the president complied but the student rebels did not, "we shall refuse further to interpose ourselves between the administration and the students." Nothing was said specifically as to what would be done if neither side complied, but the literal meaning of the words was that "all measures within our several consciences . . . to prevent the use of force" would be taken in such a contingency also. (That, of course, is what eventually happened.)

As the name of the "bitter pill" resolution implies, it was framed on the theory that it might be possible to satisfy everyone by satisfying no one. This does sometimes afford a basis for agreement, but only where the items to be compromised are not crucial to either side. That essential condition was lacking, and the only effect of the resolution was to strengthen further the resolve of numerous teachers, and students as well, to resist the police.

The "bitter pill" resolution was drafted in anticipation of a joint meeting of all the regular faculties of the University at 10 A.M., Sunday, in the Law School. The day before Dr. Kirk had sent telegrams to all holders of faculty seats—meaning professors, associate professors, and some assistant professors, but not instructors, preceptors, associates, or teaching assistants—inviting them

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to this joint meeting, which was unprecedented at Columbia within living memory. Dr. Kirk presided. Dr. Truman presented a detailed narrative of the recent events. Professor Westin read the "bitter pill" resolution but did not move its adoption, perhaps realizing that it was medicine too strong for the senior faculty.

Instead, the meeting adopted by a vote of 466 to forty a resolution that has been described as "unimaginative," "insipid," and less "creative" and "incisive" than it could have been. It reaffirmed the Wednesday resolution of the College faculty; evenhandedly commended the administration, the AHFG, and "the great majority of our faculty and students" for their "patience and restraint"; announced that "progress" had been made "toward closer communication"; and ended with a pledge of further effort and a plea to vacate the buildings.

On its face the faculty resolution did seem to be a pollyanna job, a squeak where a roar was needed. But this characterization does not do full justice to the thinking that underlay it, or pinpoint the real trouble with it. The resolution was drafted Saturday afternoon by a group of professors (in consultation with approving administrators) as an effort to *unify the faculty*. By this time more and more teachers (though perhaps not a majority) were convinced that police action was inevitable unless the students could be induced to leave the buildings voluntarily; and the authors of the resolution thought this still might be accomplished, if only the faculty would speak with a single voice and thus bring to bear the full force of its collective prestige.

As the event proved, the effort was premised on a double mistake: (1) It reflected as much ignorance of the reasons for the rock-solid nature of the student rebel position on amnesty as the AHFG had displayed—and with somewhat less justification, in view of the AHFG's inability to make headway on this point on Friday and Saturday. (2) It reflected the over-optimistic assumption that the AHFG, impressed by the overwhelming support this resolution was expected to (and did) get, would accept it as a supersession of its own efforts. Or perhaps the authors did not make these mistakes. Perhaps they saw the facts clearly enough, but believed nevertheless that it was the strongest resolution

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that could command widespread faculty support; that it would do no harm (and it did none); and that it would dilute the appeal of the "bitter pill" resolution. But, whichever hypothesis is the correct one, it was to become evident within a few hours that the resolution was a mere powder-puff.

What is regrettable is that a more accurate appraisal of the situation *might* have led to useful action—we say "might" because no one knows whether the joint faculties would have approved it if it had been offered that day. It was too late to forestall police action, but damage control was still possible; and damage control was as important on that embattled campus as it is on a battleship. Had attention been directed to the conditions that would exist *after* the police (inevitably with some roughness) had cleared the buildings, the chances for a tolerably good aftermath could have been improved.

The joint faculty meeting could have affirmed the necessity of the police action and declared it to be the least bad course then available. Until then the administration had shouldered the full responsibility for action, the teachers—except for the AHFG—doing little in their *collective* capacity (though particular *individuals* were giving their all in almost invisible endeavors of considerable valiance). Now the unprecedented convocation afforded an occasion where the whole faculty could have taken its place alongside the administration in proclaiming the need for the painful operation that was about to proceed. Had they done so, with a clear explanation of the reasons—and teachers are professionals in the art of explaining reasons—the campus might have reacted to the police action in a fashion quite different than it actually (and predictably) did.

But the opportunity was lost. After the faculty resolution was adopted, the meeting trailed off to a meaningless end. The "bitter pill" resolution was discussed at some length, and the meeting was then adjourned at about 2 P.M. Most of those present departed wondering why Dr. Kirk had called the meeting at all if he did not intend to use it to mobilize, as a counterforce, a significant vote of confidence in his handling of the rebellion.

From then until midnight Monday the administration made last-ditch efforts to reach a mediated settlement with Hamilton

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Hall. Theodore Kheel, an experienced labor mediator, and Dr. Kenneth Clark, a noted Negro educator, lent their aid. They failed in their main objective, but did convince the Hamilton occupants that they would do well to submit peaceably when the police should arrive, as they were about to do.

The police action was a depressing reminder that in New York City the constabulary is an autonomous force. This is not to say that it is a low-grade outfit. In comparison with such cities as Birmingham and Chicago, for instance, New York is fortunate. But the New York police arrogate to themselves the professional privilege of doing their job in their own way, impatient of guidance from laymen. In some situations this is commendable. On the Columbia campus it was a wrongheaded blunder.

A university campus is a volatile place. It is populated by thousands of individualists accustomed to great freedom of expression and little respect for authority. Six days of struggle and rumor are enough to render it explosive. The administrators know better than the police what sorts of action are likely to unleash dangerous forces. For the police to ignore their counsel is madness.

If firemen were summoned to deal with a fire in a chemical plant, they would seek out the management and beg advice. They would want to know the special dangers, would ask to be informed of esoteric cause-effect relationships that might endanger the firemen as well as reverse their efforts to minimize damage to the plant. The police would have done well to follow such a course at Columbia, but they did not.

At the Cox Commission hearings Dr. Truman testified in detail as to the following requests of the administration, every one of which was disregarded:

(1) That the action take place at 4 A.M., when the number of onlookers would be least. (It should be noted that the police began to mobilize on the periphery of the campus shortly after midnight, and that their presence was advertised on late news broadcasts, including the running WKCR reports. The action began about 2 A.M.)

(2) That the action be conducted entirely by uniformed personnel, plainclothes detectives being used for investigatory purposes only.

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(3) That police vans be kept on the streets and not brought onto the campus to receive their loads of arrested persons.

(4) That the police limit themselves to emptying the buildings, and not clear the campus. "They asked us if we wished to have the campus cleared and we said, 'No, we do not.' "

Dr. Truman also testified that the University had offered to provide first aid or medical personnel, but that the police had advised against it, saying that they would themselves provide adequate medical assistance to the injured (if any). They did not.[17]

Hamilton and Low, where the police were able to enter through underground tunnels and thus avoid the campus crowds, were evacuated first, without serious incident. Some resistance was encountered at the other buildings, mainly from volunteer defenders taking "all measures within [their] several consciences," and some injuries were sustained. It is not clear, however, that excessive force was used there—at least, on a large scale. But when the clearance of the buildings was coming to an end, and arrested students were being loaded into vans on College Walk, some unidentified policeman got fed up with the torrent of profanity, soft drink cans, and other items hurled at him and his colleagues, and gave the order to clear the south campus.

As it happened, this was an impossible order to obey. Though the police seem not to have known it, all the gates to the campus were locked shut except those at the two ends of College Walk, and the police pushed the mob away from those gates toward the usually open (but then locked) portals at the south end of the campus. The only place for the thousand or more fugitives to go

[17] The question has been raised as to why the police were not asked to clear the buildings without making any arrests. It is not known whether the administration did request this; but, if so, the police must have refused—and rightly. It is dangerous practice for a policeman to take custody of a person and then release him without formal charges. Such a procedure opens the way to arbitrary police action without the automatic opportunity for public reexamination in court; in effect, the policeman usurps the function of the court. The principle may not be violated when the police simply push people back to keep a crowd from pressing into a forbidden area, since this does not involve taking custody of their persons. But such custody is necessarily involved, at least temporarily, when trespassers are forcibly removed from a building.

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was into the dormitories. There were too many of them to escape that way as quickly as the police expected, and many were clubbed. Over a hundred were treated at nearby St. Luke's and Knickerbocker Hospitals that night and were discharged, not having been arrested. In addition, some of those arrested were injured, as were a number of policemen.

In spite of the unnecessary injuries on the south campus the operation does not appear to have been an exceptionally brutal one in comparison with similar operations elsewhere. No tear gas or firearms were used; and no demonstrator was killed, or injured seriously enough for in-patient hospitalization. The police worked under trying conditions: a night-time operation in the presence of a snarling mob arouses even in a trained policeman fear for his own safety, and affects his judgment as to how much force is appropriate. Under such circumstances it would take a robot to hew nicely to the fine line between sufficient and excessive force. The police appear to have felt satisfied with their work; at least, no criticism has yet been heard from their Civilian Complaint Board in response to the many complaints that were filed.

But by their stubborn indifference to advice they had ravaged the University. They were not *entitled* to pride themselves on the job they had done, any more than firemen who have prevented loss of life but have unnecessarily let a valuable building burn to the ground. By the next day the emotional havoc they had wrought was plain to see. Shocked students, including even many of the legitimists, were convinced that the administration had planned everything just the way it happened. By the thousands they joined in calling for a strike and for the resignations of Dr. Kirk and Dr. Truman.

The AHFG called a meeting for 10 A.M. on Tuesday in Earl Hall, only to find that the hall was too small to hold the 750 teachers (many of them new adherents) who appeared; so the whole group moved to the roomier McMillin Theatre, filing between hordes of students chanting their rage and disgust. At McMillin Professor Westin read a resolution that he had helped to draft, urging the faculty to join the student strike. The ensuing debate, and the applause that it engendered, made two things clear to Westin: (1) that the resolution, if voted on, would pass,

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and (2) that some of his most respected colleagues believed such action to be precipitate and destructive in view of the lack of knowledge as to the extent of police brutality and of the administration's complicity in it. Westin endeavored to assemble the AHFG steering committee on the stage and to redraft the resolution then and there. Failing in this he left. The meeting was ended, and so was the AHFG.

In a way the administration aided the strike by something it did *not* do. Some 700 persons were arrested in the buildings—about 525 students, a couple of dozen alumni, and over 175 other outsiders. They were charged with criminal trespass, and some of them with resisting arrest. *But their number did not include the leaders of the rebellion,* who had left the buildings to avoid arrest (reasoning that generals have a duty not to get captured). No charges were filed against them, even for trespass—much less for their more serious offenses, such as inciting to riot. In this way the University had conveyed the message, more clearly than words could do it, that its concern was for its property and not for the law.

XIV

Our account must come to a close. The strike paralyzed the College so completely that it was hopeless to resume classes. The rebels had been able to close it down for six days only; the police had succeeded in closing it down for the summer. The other schools were affected also, some more seriously than others, but did resume operations the following week. Academic credit was not denied by reason of the interruption, even in the College—where a quarter of the spring semester (including the examination period) had been lost. And on June 4 the University, still fearful of confrontations and not daring to grasp the opportunity to let the SDS put its disruptive tactics on view at the usual outdoor commencement ceremony, in full sight of the many parents and friends, moved its commencement into the nearby Cathedral of St. John the Divine—too small to accommodate the parents and friends, who listened by wire transmission.

Rather than review the instructive events of the ensuing eleven months—highlighted by the resignations of Dr. Kirk and Dr.

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Truman, the final abandonment of the gym, and approval of a University Senate—we must limit ourselves to these simple assertions as preface for the observations that are to follow: Though Columbia has resumed more or less normal operations, it has been badly hurt. The full extent of the damage has probably not yet manifested itself. And the University has done little to show that it has learned what it could have learned from the experiences here recounted. We now turn to an exploration of what it could have learned.

At the beginning we asked ourselves the question, How does a university differ from other political organisms? And, in particular, what choices are denied to it in meeting a challenge to the obligatory force of its internal rules? More answers are derivable from the foregoing narrative than can be (or need to be) spelled out in didactic detail here. We think it more useful to attempt the explication of fundamental causes and remedies.

But let us delay that endeavor long enough to point out that there is one respect in which universities do *not* differ from other open societies. All of them must beware of teaching that large constructive change is attainable only through violence. That lesson is taught when an administration first shows itself unresponsive to respectful complaint and rational persuasion, and then does embrace meliorative change in response to criminal force or rebellion.

Because the Columbia experience has followed that pattern, there are those who say that the rebels have rendered an important service. That is true in the same sense that any anti-social action can be viewed as the but-for cause of measures taken to lessen the likelihood of its repetition. In this sense, mine owners whose neglect of safety requirements has led to major disaster, which in turn has wakened a lethargic government to the need for better regulations and better enforcement, can claim to have brought about the improved regime. But that is not to say that attainment of such an objective was their *reason* for inviting disaster, so that a grateful public should erect monuments in their honor. Nor is it to deny that the happy result was bought at a price unnecessarily high.

In Columbia's case, a portion of the price has been disaffec-

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tion—no less dangerous because largely inarticulate—on the part of student legitimists and their faculty counterparts. During and since the rebellion this large element of the campus population has found itself continually and scornfully disparaged, not only by student ex-rebels and rebel sympathizers but also by faculty ex-rebels and some of the new tripartite disciplinary tribunals, as enemies of the progress that has come in the wake of the rebellion. Their opposition to rebellion has been equated with opposition to progress. Their loyalty to the law and to Columbia has turned out to be a Bad Thing, it seems.

The inevitable souring of their feelings for the school entails a cost that is measurable only in such terms as lessened readiness to boost Columbia to friends, sons, and other potential applicants for admission, and a diminished sense of obligation to support the school (financially and otherwise) in the years to come. The cost may never be fully known, but it is not to be written off as negligible.

In search for causes and remedies, little is gained by enumeration of the many decisions that with hindsight are seen to have been unwise. "If Booth Had Missed" is a pleasant and interesting game, but no more than a game. The specific events are significant not in themselves, but for the insight they give into underlying determinants. Our objective now is to identify those controlling (and continuing) forces and conditions.

We shall first state summarily the propositions which, in our opinion, emerge from the foregoing narrative. Then we shall discuss them briefly. They are:

(1) The tragic flaw, here as in the ageless Greek dramas, is *hubris*.

(2) Columbia University can no longer function effectively in New York City. It should move elsewhere.

(3) So long as Columbia does remain where it is, priority must be given to avoidance of offense—particularly *illegal* offense—to the neighboring residents.

(4) Wherever Columbia is, it should avail itself of the power of the law—particularly in the administration of its own internal regulations, but also in resorting (when necessary) to the law of the general society. The law should be utilized in such a way as

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to realize its potential for termination of controversy and non-coercive control of deviant behavior.[18]

XV

The foregoing narrative teems with evidence of overweening pride. Arguably, the student rebels are partly excusable, because of their youth, for their rejection of fact and reason on such substantive questions as IDA and the gym, for their disregard of the interests of others in their demonic pursuit of virtue as they saw it, and for their resort to medieval forms of force—conquest and hostage—to achieve their ends. The rebel sympathizers likewise may be partly excusable, on the same grounds—though bandwagon opportunism is somewhat less appealing than misguided heroism. The faculty rebels, being adults, are rightly measured on a different scale. But even they, for the most part, were moved by humane instinct and constructive purpose; their failure lay in their imperfect comprehension of the motivation of the student rebels, in their rigid refusal to understand the choices that were really open, and in their consequent pursuit of the will o' the wisp consensus in lieu of a concerted effort toward the least bad of the alternatives actually available. As to all of them there may be no useful word for the future except to echo Cromwell: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

But *hubris* has also manifested itself on a deeper level, where a more specific recommendation is meaningful. The University as an institution has been *too proud to acknowledge its own limitations.*

Universities and colleges have always been centers of great influence. They have leavened the general society with new ideas and new techniques. They have served as a countervailing power, balancing the more materialistic forces organized around governmental institutions and aggregations of private wealth. Until fairly recently, however, they exerted their influence not by direct participation in work on current social problems but by equipping young people to go out and grapple with them.

[18] In view of the volatile nature of the subject matter, it is appropriate to note that this article was submitted on April 10, 1969.

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A new trend began in the thirties, when the New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt tapped the reservoirs of scholarly expertise for its "brains trust." The trend accelerated during World War II, under pressure of the national need for technological support in the development and effective use of new weapons. And since the war the schools have come to be regarded as natural resources for aid in handling public problems of all kinds.

It is too late to undo this development, even if that were desirable. But it carries a danger. The danger is that schools such as Columbia may be thought to have more *direct* power than they really have.

The 1968 rebellion on Morningside Heights revealed this danger with frightening clarity. Each of the rebel complaints was premised on the assumption that Columbia had the wealth and manpower to solve big social problems, and needed only to be flogged into doing so.

It was assumed that if Columbia (or Columbia and all its sister institutions) were to boycott military research and the draft, the government would perforce alter its foreign policy. The far more probable effect would have been (a) to activate the government's limitless power to do what it thinks it must do to achieve security in a jungle world, and (b) to cause it to turn its back on the rational counsels that scholars in their individual capacities can offer for enlightenment of the national self-interest.

It was assumed also that if Columbia tried, it could wipe away the troubles of the ghetto—not only by bestowing a gymnasium for use of Harlem youth, but by providing a whole panoply of social services and helping with physical improvement of slums. The fact is that Columbia could pour its whole $405 million endowment into Harlem, and assign its entire faculty and student body to work there, without making more than a dent. The magnitude of the task is such that only the taxing power is adequate to provide the necessary funds.

But Columbia has been too proud to acknowledge these limitations. It has forgotten the steamboat that was brought to a halt by excessive use of the whistle. A major effort by Columbia to cope with war and ghetto through direct action would be such a diversion from the primary job of training young people, as to

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degrade the great influence the University *can* exert (and has exerted) through its educational services.

What is needed is a return to humility, with a clear statement of the priority of the educational mission and an insistence that direct service to the outside community is to be rendered only to the extent (and it is a very considerable extent) that it supports and enriches the educational offering. Application of this principle will not be easy, particularly in the troubled area of relations with Negro students—many of whom feel obligated to call on their university for direct aid in repairing the centuries of injustice to their people. But unless the principle is articulated and implemented, Columbia will cease to be a great school.

The foregoing proposition leads into the second of our four: It should now be recognized that New York City is no longer a fit environment for Columbia.

For one thing, the *demand* for direct attack on community problems is at a maximum in New York City, simply because its polyglot, multi-racial, multi-cultural, rootless, and largely impoverished population *has* more problems, and more acute ones, than are to be found outside the great metropolitan centers. And the demand reaches its peak on Morningside Heights; Harlem, where the distress is greatest, lies in plain view below the bluff to the east.

Moreover, as has been observed, the city is a lawless place. Faced with social problems of great severity, and cramped by the relative indifference of an up-country state legislature, it has failed to establish an environment that is even safe, much less comfortable or beautiful. Its government, despite the selfless efforts of dedicated individuals, is the plaything of demagogues who themselves are but voices for the restless discontent of their constituents. And the lawlessness of the city impinges on Columbia in many ways.

Perhaps the most obvious is the precariousness of personal security. The Cox Commission and others have pointed out that Columbia suffers because so many of its teachers live in the suburbs—Westchester, Long Island, northern New Jersey—and not near the campus where they would be able to join more fully in off-hours activities with the students and with each other. But what husband and father is to be criticized for declining to expose

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his family to purse-snatching, bike-robbery, mugging, or worse (or to accept gladly the choice between sending his children to an expensive private school, and injecting them into the morbid conditions now prevailing in the New York public schools)? And regardless of whether they live in Manhattan, students and teachers alike must *work* there, where rape and robbery stalk the streets.

More subtly but just as destructively, the lawlessness of the city sharply restricts the physical development of the campus. Originally it was bounded by 116 Street, Broadway, 120 Street, and Amsterdam Avenue—or a bit farther north and west, if the affiliated Barnard and Teachers Colleges be included; some time ago it was extended south to 114 Street. Saturated with buildings as it is, it must expand into the surrounding area for new construction. Except for other institutional properties such as churches, public schools, and hospitals, that area consists almost entirely of apartment houses—and most of them are subject to rent control (about which, more in a moment).

For Columbia physical expansion is not a mere luxury. It is needed for improvement of the educational offering. For example, construction of a new building for the Law School on the east (off-campus) side of Amsterdam Avenue made the old law building available for the East Asian Institute. The fairly new School of International Affairs has had to scramble for space pending erection of its new building, still being built just north of the Law School. Interdisciplinary cooperation with the School of Social Work is and will continue to be difficult, unless and until it can be brought to the campus from its present quarters in the old Carnegie mansion at 91 Street and Fifth Avenue. A new residence hall for graduate students, and expanded facilities for off-street parking, would significantly alleviate the chores of daily living.

But expansion into a rent-controlled neighborhood has aroused understandable extra-legal opposition. New York, the only American city that still retains its wartime rent controls, has nevertheless modified them greatly. The law does not apply to new buildings, or to the higher priced apartments, or to owner-occupied lodgings such as cooperatives and condominiums. And the law permits the emptying of rent-controlled buildings for use by the owner. Thus there is no *legal* barrier to Columbia's purchasing

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a block of apartment houses, evicting the tenants, and clearing the site for new construction. But whenever it does so, the anguish of the tenants—and of their neighbors, who fear similar eviction later on—is heard. Protest organizations are formed and pickets, leaflets, and demonstrations swirl about. This is only natural, perhaps, because the economic harm that is inflicted on the tenant, who must move to a non-controlled apartment at twice his old rent (or more), cannot be compensated even by a generous cash allowance for relocation.

It was indeed the urge to forestall this reaction that gave much of the impetus to the idea of locating the long-needed gym in Morningside Park. And in order to avoid the role of the traditional heartless landlord, Columbia has for years refrained from asserting its legal right to evict tenants from rent-controlled buildings marked for razing; instead, it has simply declined to relet apartments as they have become vacant—only to be confronted by an accusation of callous disregard of the housing shortage, now that hundreds of its apartments stand vacant. And because a great many of the tenants who *have* been evicted or induced to vacate have been non-white, Columbia is charged with racism—as if it had dispossessed them *because* of their skin color. The net effect of the crazy-quilt rent control law, which shows little sign of fundamental revision in the near future, is thus to create a dilemma. Either Columbia must forego expansion or it must live in a neighborhood that regards it as a juggernaut and, at every opportunity, screams its rage. Moreover, as the gym's fate shows, the rage has mounted to such a paranoid level that *any* affirmative move by Columbia is taken as a provocation.

Large-scale construction in a big city is a complex business at best. Years are required for satisfaction of the requirements of the various city regulatory agencies; and if, as in Columbia's case, the funds for construction must be raised through gifts, more years are required for that. The gym experience demonstrates that, in New York's churning political cauldron, the normal difficulties are compounded by a hidden *rebus sic stantibus* condition: circumstances alter cases.

If, during a new structure's years of gestation, the political climate changes, a project initially regarded as wholesome and creative may attract the wrath of the neighbors; and with the

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help of a Hoving and the silence of a Lindsay, it may suffer abortion. In such an environment there is little hope for the building of anything new. Peace is to be found only in stagnation.

The campus has been moved before. Time and again, as New York has grown, Columbia has extricated itself from the central city. The College was first housed in the vestry of Trinity Church, at the end of Wall Street. From there it moved half a mile or so uptown to a three-acre site on Murray Street, where it remained for nearly a century. For the next forty years it occupied a site on 49 Street. Meanwhile other schools had been added to the College, many of them scattered around town. In the early eighteen-nineties the Morningside Heights site was purchased as a home for the whole University (and adjacent sites were bought by Barnard and Teachers Colleges). The University began operations there in 1897.

Evidently the question of a further move for the College (though evidently not the whole University) was considered and rejected in 1944 and 1945, when an already severe shortage of space was about to be aggravated by the imminent return of servicemen from World War II. The reports of College Dean Harry J. Carman for those two years recorded the opinion of the Committee on the State of Columbia College (in which opinion he concurred) that a move would be unwise. The 1945 report quotes as follows from the committee's recommendations (pp. 7-8):

> 3. That Columbia College should remain at its present site. To separate it physically and intellectually from the rest of the University would be a tragic mistake. To remove the College to a rural setting would deprive its faculty and student body of the intellectual stimulation and educational opportunities which they now derive from being part of a great university located in the heart of a great metropolitan center. In the opinion of the Committee the disadvantages of a college in a great city are more than overbalanced by the advantages which the college has in its close relationship with Columbia University.

Note that the recommendation is premised partly on the undesirability of moving the College *alone*.

It is time to reopen the question—to consider whether the balance of advantage still lies with the urban locale. Ten years ago

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the pulling of stakes would have been easier. There had been little new construction for decades, and the abandonment of obsolescent structures would have entailed relatively little waste. The last decade has witnessed the investment of many millions in new special-purpose buildings whose loss would be as great a waste as the sinking of the Titanic. But the question remains, can Columbia afford to stay?

Columbia cannot remake New York City. And so long as the city is what it is, Columbia's prospect of continuing to attract first-class teachers and students, even if the present plant were to be enlarged and improved—which would produce an ever angrier neighborhood reaction—is a dim one. In this connection it is pertinent that applications for admission to Columbia College, according to the February 9, 1969, New York *Times*, are twenty-one per cent fewer this year than last, while applications at Harvard and Yale have increased. A grim statistic: a statistic indicating not that the class matriculating next September will be smaller (there are still far more applicants than places) but that its average caliber will probably be lower. And though it is too early to say that a faculty exodus is under way (as it is said to be at Berkeley), the number of distinguished teachers who have recently announced their decision to leave is too large for comfort. The University may be faced with the need to elect between losing its new buildings and losing (or failing to get) the people who make them worth having.

Moving a university is a big operation. In view of the time it would take in any event, consideration might be given to relocation in two stages. Columbia College might be transplanted first, and the rest of the University later. Most of the new buildings are used by the other schools, whereas most of the College buildings are obsolescent. Departure of the College would enable the rest of the University to expand into the sizable quarters the College now occupies, rather than growing outward into the neighborhood. When the time comes to reunite the school on a new campus the buildings that are now new would have lived a good part of their useful life. Difficulty would arise from the fact that many teachers serve both the College and the Graduate Faculties; but a severance might not be impossible.

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However, even though Morningside Heights may not be turned back to the city for decades to come, and even though the move may be piecemeal, a definite plan should be made now. If it is not, it will become ever harder to make, as additional construction (which the $200 million fund drive should make possible) continues. Every new building is another anchor to the present campus.

The third of our four points is a simpler one. So long as the University does remain where it is, it should recognize the utmost gravity of any failure on its part to fulfill its obligations to its neighbors, and particularly its legal obligations to the tenants of the buildings it owns near the campus. As has been said, much of their anger has arisen from causes beyond Columbia's control. But there are far too many reports that they have not been given what the rent control law says they are entitled to have. There are too many reports that plumbing and plastering and elevator repairs have been neglected, that legally required redecoration has been deferred, that building superintendents have been incompetent and unwarrantably rude, that groundless eviction notices have been served, that (in furnished single-room lodgings) clothing has been removed to the halls and keyholes plugged. Such irritants may well have accounted, as much as anything else, for the zeal with which neighborhood groups rallied to the aid of the student rebels last April, marshaling supplies of food and blankets for the occupied buildings (and delivering them to the sealed campus by use of counterfeit identification cards which were forged, in substantial numbers, with the same righteous fervor felt by those who forge enemy passports for spies).

It is not to be supposed that tenant oppression has been authorized by the higher administrators. It is doubtful that they have even tolerated it knowingly. But they have neglected to set up a channel through which aggrieved tenants, unable to obtain their due from the building superintendent or the rental office, could call on the president or his fully authorized delegate, for help. Breach of legal duty to tenants entails too high a cost to justify leaving such complaints to be handled entirely by employes and subordinate officials.

Our fourth and final point is that, wherever the University is,

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it should avail itself of the hard-won teachings of the past regarding effective utilization of the law. This is not to say that it should adopt the posture of authoritarian rigidity that has given a pejorative connotation to the once respectable term, "law and order." It is right that students, and teachers as well, be given considerable leeway to experiment with untried ideas and methods. It is not necessary that the University constitute itself a deputy sheriff, to ferret out all violations of law such as the use of marijuana—though it certainly should not obstruct the enforcement efforts of public authorities. But the University would be well advised to insist, explicitly and publicly and as often as necessary, upon two propositions: (a) that the place for objection to rules is at the rule-making level, not the enforcement level; and (b) that when an alleged infraction of a serious nature occurs, *the health of the community* depends upon its fair adjudication and condign disposition through procedures backed by the whole prestige of the school.

The first of these propositions needs hardly be labored, in view of the unsatisfactory outcome of the administration's efforts last spring to avoid a showdown with SDS. Leniency in assessing punishment for forbidden acts is one thing; temporization in response to repudiation of the rules themselves, and denial of the legitimacy of the University's power to make them, is quite another. The consequent proliferation of the controversy (the fray being joined first by SAS and then by the legitimists, the rebel sympathizers, and the AHFG) soon reduced the campus to such a state that resort to the police was the only way out.

There are some, including even a few law professors, who pay lip service to the proposition that existing rules ought to be enforced without hesitation or apology, but who also insist that the University loses the right to enforce its rules—that is, that the rules lack "legitimacy," so that there is no obligation to obey them—if it has been callously unresponsive to reasoned remonstrance. Thus, in their view, the duty to comply with the rules is a conditional one—conditional on the University's reasonableness in the *making* of the rules. This is a considerable extension of social contract doctrine, importing into it the *private* contract doctrine of conditional promises. (If you fail to deliver the

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horse you have promised me, I am relieved of my promise to pay you the agreed price.)

In a limited way the feudal law did embrace this idea. The vassal was said to have a right of defiance (*diffidatio*) if his lord did not fulfill his own correlative obligations. As Joel T. Rosenthal has written:

> The strongest traditional tie between king and baron was that of man and vassal. The strength of the tie lay in its mutuality—the lord was no more free to wrong his man than the vassal was to neglect his sworn obligations. If the king acted unjustly against his vassal, that is, if he refused him the process of the lord's justice, or did him certain types of personal harm, then the baron was free to renounce his homage and to defy his lord.[19]

As Rosenthal points out, however, the barons (though often rebellious) rarely dared to claim the right of diffidation. Recognizing that "to destroy the king was to destroy the basis of their own authority,"[20] they shrank from invoking—and thereby giving currency to—a principle so broad and so difficult of objective application.

To be sure, there is a good reason for the rule-maker to entertain (and indeed facilitate) criticism, and—unless it has plainly been offered without constructive purpose—to engage in ungrudging two-way discourse with the critic. But the reason is not that the existing rules otherwise lose their force. The reason is that abstention from such dialogue creates a brittleness. It creates a condition in which there is little room for tolerance of rebellious behavior, because temporization in dealing with defiance—a policy of "non-confrontation"—is dangerous; rebellion, once openly declared, *proliferates* more surely and more rapidly than it would if loyal remonstrance had been listened to and answered.

Universities ought to keep themselves in such condition that they can safely tolerate a little defiance from time to time. The spontaneous development of an immune reaction on the part of

[19] "The King's 'Wicked Advisers' and Medieval Baronial Rebellions," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXII (1967), 605.

[20] *Ibid.*, 597.

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the campus community is itself a valuable educational experience.[21] And there is evidence that the Columbia administration expected just such a campus reaction to the SDS challenge, not foreseeing that rebellion would spread so rapidly as to prevent that from happening.

But the very brittleness that the administration's aloofness had begotten placed it, paradoxically, under an abnormally stringent duty to respond firmly when its authority was denied. For, whatever mistakes it might have made earlier, its central obligation at that juncture was to keep the school functioning; the campus community, as a whole, was entitled to expect as much.

Those who maintain the contrary view that the administration's response to challenge was too severe rather than too permissive, because its "legitimacy" had vanished and *diffidatio* was in order, might do well to remember why the barons were so hesitant to invoke that principle. It is a suitable prescription for cataclysmic revolution, but dangerously strong medicine if the objective is no more than reform. Yet that is the prescription offered, it would seem, when it is argued that rule-breakers should go unpunished because the administration has been imperfectly responsive, and that it is partisan and wrong to deplore student crimes without simultaneously castigating the administration for its shortcomings.

In this connection it should be said, parenthetically, that the University has not only a right but a duty—a duty to all those who depend upon it for their education or livelihood—to call in the police (or resort to civil injunction, which is enforceable through police action if necessary) whenever disruptive activity gets beyond its own power to control. The town-gown tradition is worth preserving, but its limits also deserve respect. And inasmuch as Columbia will remain in New York City for the next years at least, an effort should be made to convince the city authorities of the imperative need to bridle the autonomy of the police, and require them to accept the University's guidance as to methods of dealing with campus disorders.

[21] The same is true of any open society. Compare the Supreme Court's dictum in *Minersville School District* v. *Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586, 600 (1940): "... education in the abandonment of foolish legislation is itself a training in liberty."

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Moreover, if the police are to be called upon at all, they should be brought in as soon as the need for them is clear. The longer the delay, the greater the proliferation of rebellion. If too many are then arrested, prosecution is not in fact carried through; as stated above, application of the criminal law is simply considered inappropriate (at least in New York City) for dealing with very large-scale deviant behavior on a university campus.

It is an abuse of legal process to initiate criminal proceedings without the expectation of pressing them. Where the offenders are so numerous as to make it highly unlikely that, if they are *all* arrested, *any* of them will be brought to trial, it may be necessary to forego prosecution of any except the few who are primarily responsible. Had Columbia done that on April 30, 1968, however, the five buildings would have remained occupied. Hence the importance of earlier action.

The second of the two propositions set out above—that the community suffers when serious charges are left unresolved—is not so self-evident but is equally important. The law—if properly applied—is capable of *terminating controversy*. The formal and official adjudication that a delict has or has not occurred, and the pronouncement and execution of a sentence on the accused if he is found guilty, does more than accord justice to the *offender*. It also purges *the community* of the uneasiness that the offense—and, often, the alleged justification for the offense as well—has produced. The nightmare is over, and people can comply with Justice Holmes' admonition that the basic necessity in life is *to get on to the next thing*.

Students of primitive law have observed this ritual function of the law in its simplest and most obvious form. The first purpose of tribal law against murder was to provide a substitute for the blood feud, in which the victim's family took their vengeance, only to suffer later vengeance in return, and so on until one clan or the other was wiped out. Nowadays we take this ritual function so much for granted that we rarely think of it, until a John F. Kennedy or a Martin Luther King is slain and his slayer, having died or pleaded guilty, is not brought to trial. Then the doubts begin to fester, and they demoralize the community for a long time.

Just such doubts still plague the Columbia community. Nearly a year after the rebellion, there has still been no adjudication—

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either by a state or federal court or by a university tribunal—sifting the rights and wrongs of the affair, and saying *why* the right was right and the wrong wrong. Teachers and students of all factions still harbor smoldering hostility, each sincerely believing in the virtuousness of his own stand and recriminating the obstinate perversity of those who opposed him. The administration has done no more than plead that bygones are bygones, and utter stern warnings against *future* rebellion. And the ghost, unexorcised, even now walks the parapet.

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Aside from personal observation, the principal primary sources are:

(1) The transcript of the hearings of the "Fact-Finding Commission Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances at Columbia University in April and May 1968" (known as the Cox Commission). The hearings were held at Columbia from May 7 to July 25, 1968. The transcript (unpublished) consists of 3,790 pages in twenty-one volumes, and includes much factual testimony in addition to numerous opinion statements.

(2) The transcript of WKCR tapes (unpublished) in ten volumes, on deposit in the Columbia Law Library. The coverage is extensive, though not complete, for the period April 24-30, 1968. Selected tapes of May broadcasts are also included.

(3) Mimeographed leaflets distributed on the campus during the rebellion. Photocopies of those specifically referred to are on deposit in the Columbia Law Library.

Facts have also been taken from the following broad-spectrum secondary sources:

(4) The Cox Commission Report, entitled *Crisis at Columbia* (New York, 1968). Its factual summary, though compressed, is quite valuable—more valuable than its analysis and recommendations, which reflect the haste attending its publication. (It was rushed into print for distribution at the start of the autumn semester—at which time it was offered to students, teachers, and administrators at the bargain price of twenty-five cents, one to a customer; the regular price is $1.95.)

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(5) Jerry L. Avorn *et al., Up Against the Ivy Wall: A History of the Columbia Crisis* (New York, 1969). This is a competent journalistic account by members of the staff of the *Columbia Spectator.*

(6) George Keller, "Six Weeks That Shook Morningside," the Spring 1968 issue of *Columbia College Today,* which is the Columbia College Alumni magazine. This free-swinging ninety-six-page account, published in 1969, has occasioned criticism for its manner of dealing with certain matters of detail; but it contains material not collated elsewhere, and is a useful journalistic effort. It is interlarded with revealing photographs.

Other sources, dealing with particular issues involved in the rebellion, include:

(7) Roger Starr, "The Case of the Columbia Gym," *The Public Interest,* XIII (1968), 102-21.

(8) Report of the Columbia University Committee on Relations with Outside Agencies (Professor Louis Henkin, Chairman) (May 31, 1968). There is a section discussing IDA.

(9) Marc Rauch *et al.,* "Columbia and the Community: Past Policy and New Directions" (New York, 1968). This eighty-three-page pamphlet is a report of the Committee for Research of the Columbia College Citizenship Council. It reflects a special viewpoint, but provides detailed documentation of complaints against Columbia by its neighboring tenants.

Individual students and teachers have published their appraisals of the rebellion and its causes. The more interesting of these appraisals include:

(10) Daniel Bell, "Columbia and the New Left," *The Public Interest,* XIII (1968), 61-101.

(11) "Columbia: Seven Interviews" (Eric Bentley, Ray Brown and Bill Sales, Peter Gay, Charles Parsons, Mark Rudd and Lewis Cole, Lionel Trilling, Immanuel Wallerstein), *Partisan Review,* XXXV (1968), 354-92.

(12) Dankwart A. Rustow, "Days of Crisis," *The New Leader,* May 20, 1968, pp. 5-12.

The May 3-16 issue of *Rat* (a twenty-four-page "subterranean" news sheet published in New York) contains a number of first-hand reports signed by students, as well as facsimile reproductions

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of letters from President Kirk's files. Letters from his files are also described in an "exclusive report," "The Siege of Columbia," *Ramparts*, June 15, 1968, pp. 26-39.

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Student Rebellion: Vision of the Future or Echo from the Past?*

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In order to limit my subject and to concentrate on the most interesting or familiar cases, I shall not discuss Latin-American universities, for two reasons. These universities have known student unrest for a long time, and have granted their students a role in the administration—a right which is demanded by some protesters and which is spreading throughout the West. Secondly, the relative underdevelopment, the influence of the United States, the example of Cuba, and the mediocrity and authoritarianism of a great many established regimes suggest probable interpretations. Similarly, African universities give their students a Western education, separate them from their milieu, teach them criticism and the critical spirit. How could the students fail to perceive the gap between the society they live in and the society whose ideal plan has been taught them through the culture they have received? How could they fail to revolt when the best jobs, those in government bureaucracy, are held by the preceding generation, and when economic progress offers graduates, most of them non-scientific, no chance of promotion in the private sector?

I shall therefore limit myself to student revolts in the indus-

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trialized countries, in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. A question that arises immediately is, To what extent do the students revolt in Eastern Europe, in the Socialist countries, and, where they do, is this the same phenomenon as in the industrialized, democratic, and liberal countries? A first observation is that there have been no student revolts in the Soviet Union; student revolts have taken place only in Poland, where they were brutally put down, and in Czechoslovakia, where they were an integral part of a national movement. In order to enter college it is not enough merely to have graduated from secondary school; a college accepts only a small percentage of those who apply to it. For this reason students in the strict sense of the word constitute a privileged minority, which is not to say that this minority does not deserve its privileges by virtue of its intellectual or academic abilities or accomplishments. In the Soviet Union, up to now, those excluded from college seem more inclined to protest than the students themselves.

And in any case, the Polish and Czech student revolts, and probably those of all students in countries of the Soviet type, are closer to the revolts of nineteenth-century liberal students than they are to the revolt of libertarian, utopian, or Marxist students in democratic countries. Czech students are attacking neither professors nor university institutions as such; in agreement with their professors (at least the majority of them), they are demanding democratic freedoms and, above all, the right to the truth. Is it any surprise that the dialogue between the extremists of West Berlin and the Czech students ended in the discovery of disagreement? Educated in the harsh school of despotism by that merciless teacher called reality (to paraphrase the famous passage of Thucydides), the Czech students, through one of their spokesmen, ultimately both justified and condemned the spoiled children of the consumer society with this stinging retort: "Your educational system must indeed be deplorable since it produces idiots like you."

All polemics aside, it seems obvious to me after the slight contact I have had with Czech students or intellectuals that they do not belong to the same psycho-social type as the leftists of France or Germany. They know what they want; anti-utopians, they demonstrate a sense of reality, a sobriety of attitude and thought, a

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discipline of reflection and action, which make them differ almost point for point from the protesters of the West.

An observer will probably reply that the young people of the West and the East are united in their dissatisfaction, and that according to a logic of emotions if not of ideas, one group is attacking the lack of so-called formal or bourgeois freedoms while the other group, which enjoys these freedoms, wants to go beyond them to direct or "participatory" democracy. But even if one accepts the opposition between a liberal revolt in the East and a libertarian revolt in the West, it remains to be demonstrated that the apparently libertarian revolt does not, like the revolts of the Soviets in 1917, conceal a totalitarian intention or, regardless of its intentions, a totalitarian ending.

I

Let us omit Eastern Europe and the Socialist countries and concentrate our attention on revolts in the United States, Europe, and Asia, in industrialized countries with democratic and liberal governments. The frequency and violence of the revolts vary from one country to the next. Up to now the universities of Great Britain, which number fewer than 250,000 students and have excellent working conditions on the whole, have, although they have not been spared, not suffered such violent attacks as those of France or West Germany. The London School of Economics, the institution most like those on the continent, has been most seriously disturbed. The storm is raging through Italian universities, which are the least modernized in Western Europe. German universities, especially in certain departments, are the victims of an endemic anarchy which gives rise to enough sporadic violence so that the government is contemplating measures on the federal level (although education is in the hands of the *Länder*). In France the students triggered a social explosion in May 1968. The American students provided the example at Berkeley.

In spite of differences in these revolts which may be attributed to the structure of the universities or the political climate, they seem to have two common features, the singular combination of university revolt and political revolt (or revolution) and the technique of action.

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This technique, which was employed at Berkeley if not for the first time, at least for the first time in a spectacular manner and in the eyes of the world, is derived from the method employed in the struggle for civil rights. It might be called the "search for symbolic illegality" or, at least in the first phase, "non-violent violence": violence because of the refusal to obey the law and the occupation of places, non-violence by the rejection of arms and sometimes even passivity in the face of police intervention. In fact, this non-violence does not last, it lapses first into violence against things and then into violence pure and simple, although up to now it has not escalated to the use of firearms or the desire to kill.

Symbolic illegality—the interruption of classes and the occupation of buildings—has the function of provocation. It generally occurs on the occasion of an incident—more or less important, sometimes ridiculous—in university life. It is a question of forcing the authorities into a position where they must choose between giving in at the risk of losing face and resisting or even punishing at the risk of a confrontation. In the event of an open conflict between the extremists and the authorities, a mass of students—in the United States about one-third of the student body—which is somewhat sympathetic to the extremists without belonging to them or approving of their methods, will go over to the active minority. Provocation-repression-indignation-confrontation: the vicious circle is encountered virtually everywhere with minor variations.

Provocation can lead to two different results; it is inspired by two different states of mind, although the two are usually combined. Either provocation as conceived and desired by the leaders is a means of bringing about a confrontation, or provocation becomes an end in itself. The demonstrators want to live the experience of the demonstration: the "happening" of Anglo-Americans becomes a sort of existential transfiguration of the *chahut* (rumpus) which is traditional in French secondary schools and little known or unknown in Great Britain and the United States. The first alternative corresponds to political action, the second is closer to the hippies. Curiously enough, extreme politicization joins with retreat from society in a common rejection of the world as it is.

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This community of technique is explained neither by an international conspiracy nor even by imitation. It results from the very nature of the university, an institution which is without means of force and which is normally based on the discipline or voluntary obedience of the students. In the United States the universities, ensconced on campuses, have small police forces at their disposal and function according to a legality. Even in the United States, defiance of the law and the police involves only a minimum of risks. Non-violent violence is eminently well-suited to this kind of institution. The scuffle or the riot represents the extreme form of physical violence in places where, theoretically, the word reigns and reason rules.

The other characteristic common to all student movements, namely, the combination of academic revolt and political revolt, the simultaneous demand for a new university and a new society, is harder to explain. In a certain sense this phenomenon constitutes the crux of the problem under discussion. Students who took part in national or liberal struggles in the last century were attacking the government, not the professors or the administrators of the universities. Thus it is a question of two phenomena coming together and interacting: on the one hand, all through the West a new left, a new revolutionary extremism is emerging; on the other hand, this extremism, which is a force among students, is exploiting a crisis in the universities which is present in all Western countries in varying degrees. These two separate but related phenomena require an explanation that is relevant to the Western world, since they are encountered from Berkeley to West Berlin, on the Pacific coast as well as by the wall that bisects the ancient capital of the Reich. Let us begin with the observation—which is not yet an explanation—that the historical climate has changed. A new generation is entering on the scene which is defined not by its civil status but by the historical conjuncture which it perceives as it arrives at consciousness. The postwar period is coming to a close. Young people born between 1945 and 1950, the turbulent generation of today, have not had any authentic experience with war or cold war. Hitler and Stalin are no more to them than historical figures, almost as remote and almost as alien to their world as Wilhelm II or Nicholas II. It is a generation strangely

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devoid of historical awareness, at least in its noisier representatives. There is a danger that everything will begin all over again because in their eyes everything begins with them.

II

The historical climate has changed because the world has changed. Even in Europe the sense of an outside threat has practically disappeared—wrongly or rightly, it matters little. Hardly anybody dares to use the expression "free world" any more, unless ironically. For some twenty years Westerners have justified themselves while opposing the Soviet Union. The liberal democracies did not pretend to perfection; at least they paid some respect to the fundamental freedoms, without necessarily being hell-bent in the race for prosperity. According to the famous statement the liberal democracies, modest when they observed themselves, proud when they compared themselves to others, defended themselves against Marxism-Leninism with a good conscience. This kind of defense no longer impresses the young generation, who compare our societies with their stated goals, their proclaimed ideals, rather than with the so-called Socialist societies.

During the postwar period, as a result of the rivalry between the two great powers, between the two Europes, the productivist ideology dominated people's minds. The Soviet Union boasted a rate of growth superior to that of the capitalist countries; the latter took up the challenge and there followed the "miracles" of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Without despotism and without a planned economy, the neo-capitalist regimes advanced just as fast (and in the case of Japan even faster) than the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe; and in the last few years the rate of growth of the Socialist economies has diminished. But this competition no longer interests the "activists" of the young generation. They see the affluent society as a gift of the gods, a permanent acquisition: what's the point of worrying about it? Henceforth it is beyond affluence that there lie spaces to be explored, riches to be discovered. What spaces? What riches? No one knows. The future belongs to action, not to foresight: it must be forged, not imagined. For the future which our young revolutionaries want is prefigured by no existing society.

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The economic progress of the last twenty-five years, which is the most rapid and most continuous in the history of the world, has led to a spiritual crisis. The war in Vietnam, the islands of poverty in the richest country in the world, racial tensions, the deterioration of the cities, feed American self-criticism, and the same facts provide arguments for those who continue to perceive the world in terms of the Marxist-Leninist categories and for whom the United States, last bastion of capitalism, center of imperialism, is the final embodiment of evil. This does not mean that the Soviet Union automatically becomes the embodiment of good. Both despotic, as was once again demonstrated by the military intervention in Czechoslovakia of August 1968, and "bourgeoisified," with a new class of technicians and bureaucrats separated from the mass by their way of life and their authority, the Soviet Union no longer arouses the boundless hopes, the fervor of idealists in search of the absolute. Here and there, in Italy and in France, she retains her troops and her organization. She leaves the field open to the New Left.

This conjuncture of historical circumstances, both material and spiritual, encompasses all the countries in the West. But beyond these causes, which are as general as the phenomenon to be explained, a more penetrating analysis would uncover causes limited to a single country, causes which would partly account for the specific characteristics which the phenomenon presents in that particular country. In the United States civil rights and the war in Vietnam furnished subjects of discussion and then of protest within the universities, discussions and protests which expanded into a total interrogation of American civilization. At the same time the university system, in spite of the considerable resources at its disposal, is also beginning to suffer from numbers. At Berkeley, a campus of over 25,000 students, size necessitates organization which in turn creates an anonymity in interpersonal relations which is a prefiguration of the anonymity and alienation which the rebels denounce in modern society.

In Germany the generation that fills the amphitheaters of the schools is the first one which no longer lives with the obsession, the specter of Hitler. The students whom I met in 1953 when I spent several weeks in Tübingen as *Gastprofessor* were reacting to their still recent ordeal with skepticism, the rejection of illusions

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or ideologies. The condition imposed on Eastern Germans, the constant flow of refugees from the eastern sector protected them from the Soviet temptation. Young people between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three today, born after the catastrophe, have discovered a world which has already emerged from the cold war. They are arriving at political awareness in a Germany which is economically powerful and politically powerless—the economic power leaves them indifferent, the political powerlessness forbids all national ambition. They find West Germany socially conservative, in spite or because of its prosperity: are they revolting, twenty years after the fact because of the cold war, against the generation responsible for National Socialism or, like their counterparts in other countries, against the banality of a society which seems utterly dedicated to the accumulation of things?

In Japan it may be the same combination of material progress and political dependence which explains the violence of the student revolts and the popularity of Marxist ideas. Is youth *without sword or crysanthemum* looking for something to hold on to, devoid as they are of national ambition or religious faith?

In France and Italy the university crisis in the strict sense of the term—the lack of facilities, the vain attempt to accommodate an increasing number of students in the traditional structures—has, outside any political revolt, created a climate of demands which is propitious to the enterprises of the activist minority. Finally, the decline of the two churches, the Catholic and the Communist, in France probably even more than in Italy, has opened intellectual milieus, professors or students, to the influence of the New Left. Let us now turn to the New Left and to the minorities of activists or extremists.

III

In the United States, as in West Germany, many empirical studies have been devoted to students and their revolts. Certain results emerge which, without imposing an interpretation, suggest various hypotheses. The number of extremists properly speaking, the number of those who are militant members of the German SDS *(Sozialistische deutsche Studenten)* or the American SDS (*Students for a Democratic Society*) or say that they are in agree-

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ment with them is small, about five per cent of the total number of students. In France, according to a recent poll, about twelve per cent of the students are supposed to have said that they favored revolutionary action within the universities rather than reform of the universities themselves, but I doubt that this twelve per cent constitutes the equivalent of the SDS of West Germany or that of the United States.

This small proportion of true revolutionaries does not deprive them of all representative value. In the first place, in any historical period and especially in a revolutionary period, a minority may express the spirit of the time, may translate into actions the ideas or the underlying desire of a generation. After all, it is still true, as Marx has written, that revolutions have been the work of minorities and that sometimes these minorities were really carrying out a task secretly desired by the majority, a task that was recognized after the fact as in agreement with the interest and aspirations of the majority. Moreover, the same empirical studies reveal that approximately one-third of the students feel a certain sympathy for the SDS, at any rate a sympathy that is sufficiently lively that these students join its ranks or demonstrate some solidarity in the event of a confrontation. A certain awareness of a "class based on age" among the students erases differences of origin or ideology and gives the activists opportunities for action, a margin for maneuvering.

The majority of these extremists of the New Left come from bourgeois families (what in the United States would be called upper middle class families), families whose ideas are called liberal on the other side of the Atlantic and leftist in Germany or France. They were raised not according to authoritarian methods, but, on the contrary, in a style of extreme tolerance, according to the method which Americans call permissive. A psychoanalyst might suggest that they are revolting less against the father than against the absence of the father. In any case, it seems irrefutable that this generation of rebels has not suffered the oppression of tyrannical parents but, on the contrary, the lack, the void which results from the absence of opposition, resistance, or difficulties. Perhaps they were oppressed in a subtle sense, because they were the spoiled children of fathers who acted like brothers in a society whose abundance lowered the value of effort for young people born

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on the right side of the tracks and almost assured them of success from the cradle.

These rebels are unequally distributed among the students of various disciplines. In the United States and Germany the humanities and social sciences "produce" more of them than the natural sciences; mathematics produces more than physics or chemistry; few are found among engineers. It goes without saying that neither the discipline nor the teachers bear the responsibility for the revolutionary exploits of their students. Students choose their fields of study because of their interests or passions. Do they become revolutionaries because they study sociology or do they choose sociology because they want to be revolutionaries? The teachers provide them with the concepts, the theory, and facilitate its application, and this may be all.

Circumstances differ from one country to the next. In France until recent years students of sociology rarely belonged to the elite. Older, on the average, than in the other disciplines, without definite vocation, they had sought and found refuge in a newly introduced discipline on the margin of the old university. In Great Britain sociology has undergone rapid expansion over the last few years, and it furnishes the largest contingent of protesters. In France at least, the sociologists seem to include representatives of the two groups which are inclined to revolt: children of good families who have become indifferent to social success and money and children of modest families who are already aware of their lack of mobility or opportunities for advancement. Similarly, also in France, sociologists seem given to the extreme politicization of the German or American SDS as well as to the twentieth-century bohemianism of the hippies.

There is a large percentage of Jews among the leaders of these movements; according to the studies done, forty per cent of SDS leaders are Jewish. I do not know any statistics for France, but everyone is aware that a few Jews played the major roles in the events of last May. Over-representation of the Jewish intelligentsia in movements of political protest is not a modern innovation. In the United States, where the Jewish community has won its place, and an important place, students coming from Jewish families present in an extreme degree all those characteristics which sociologists find underlying the revolt of the "children of liberal parents," who

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have critical minds and noble souls and who are more interested in justice than in making money (at least, if we take them at their word). They invoke different ideologies in different countries, and even within the same country. They also present certain similarities. Aggressively visible, with long hair and dirty clothes, sometimes personally unclean, they make certain statements or manifest certain feelings: they denounce bureaucracy, Soviet as well as capitalist, they want participatory democracy, they are opposed to the values of the business bourgeoisie, work or money, they rail against specialization and want to give free rein to emotions and creativity. Thus they seem to be rebelling against the exigencies of the scientific culture and to be nostalgic for the culture of the past or already anticipating a post-scientific culture beyond the productivist obsession and the reign of computers. This revolt with its nostalgic tone in spite of its futurist pretentions suggests an interpretation which would emphasize the reciprocal ignorance of the two cultures as an underlying cause of the spiritual crisis of today.

Without trying to point out all the specifically national traits within the context of a study which must necessarily be brief, let us indicate a few differences that are immediately visible.

IV

First of all, in France and only in France have the disturbances started by a small number of *enragés* in a new liberal-style university spread first to all the other universities and next to the factories. Only in France has symbolism—fall of the Sorbonne=fall of capitalism or violation of the magisterial taboo=violation of all social authorities—seemed to endow the students with a revolutionary capacity, or at least a destructive capacity, which has not manifested itself anywhere else. I have written a short book analyzing the reasons for the uniqueness of the French situation, of which some are historical and others imputable to the present organization of society. The revolutionary scheme is still inscribed in the collective unconscious; teachers who had taught and sung the French revolutions, and above all the Revolution of 1789, the true and great one, have not been able to resist the temptation to take part in the revolution offered them, or seemingly offered them,

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by their students. In creating general assemblies in which teachers and students were intermingled, in sitting down in the midst of their students, the professors enjoyed the illusion of living their night of August 4. They diverted against the authorities the wrath of the young, to which the authorities replied by diverting onto the teaching body the wrath of the public, young and old alike.

Since there is only one university in France it was completely carried away by the storm, whereas in New York disturbances on one campus do not necessarily spread to neighboring campuses. Besides, the labor unions, weak and divided as they are, succeeded neither in preventing the spread of the movement that began in Nanterre and the Sorbonne nor in retaining control of it. Harassed on the left by various Marxist groups and threatened by the higher bid of the CFDT, the Communist-inspired unions attempted simultaneously to safeguard their claim to revolutionary dignity and to prevent any attempt at insurrection. France lacks those buffers provided in West Germany and the United States by labor unions, which make demands but are anti-revolutionary, which resolutely prefer neo-capitalism to Sovietism or to revolutionary utopia.

Why do students attack both the university and the society at the same time? As far as ideological structure is concerned, I think the uniqueness of the French situation has to do with the extreme politicization of the rebels, their loyalty to Marxism (or rather to the varoius Marxisms), a combination of esotericism, literary Byzantinism, and the propensity, at least verbally, to Castroist violence or to cultural revolution (inspired by a Maoism more imagined than experienced). Aside from the anarchist-inspired *Mouvement du 22 mars* led by Cohn-Bendit, the two groups which played the most important role (*Jeunesse communiste révolutionnaire* and *Fédération des étudiants révolutionnaires*), sometimes by applying the old stratagem of infiltrating other organizations, invoked Trotskyism. The Maoists *(Union des étudiants communistes-marxistes-léninistes)* followed rather than took the initiative.

Of course all these militants proclaimed the same principles of "participatory democracy" or "direct democracy," but they acted or believed they acted according to the Leninist method of the soviets: direct democracy, but democracy manipulated by organized activists. Although they may have been sincere in their con-

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viction that a Leninist type of revolution would not this time lead to Stalinism, they nevertheless acted in the spirit of the "soviets everywhere," with the ambition, perhaps childish but authentic, of seizing power. The French New Left is defined in relation to the Communist party, which controls the largest central union and receives twenty to twenty-five per cent of the votes in elections, much more than either the German or the American New Lefts. Ideologically, the French New Left is struggling with the Communist party for monopoly of the revolutionary idea and Marxist truth. It dominates the PSU (*Parti socialiste unifié*), a party of intellectuals which gleans some five per cent of the votes in general elections, is split into several factions, but has some influence over all of the intelligentsia, including civil servants. In the universities the strength of the New Left has less to do with the membership of five to ten per cent of the students than with the support of a probably higher fraction of teachers (especially among the young teachers, assistant professors, and associate professors). The action committees responsible for the sporadic disturbances of the past few months which here and there paralyze the functioning of the universities all remain in contact with instructors, without which contact they would very soon disappear or be reduced to impotence.

In France few of the rebels had read Herbert Marcuse before May 1968 and even today they do not identify themselves with his teaching and his inspiration to the extent that their counterparts in the United States and West Germany do. To be sure, they, too, are anti-bureaucratic; they, too, denounce manipulation by the mass media, the dehumanization caused by organization, technology, computers; they, too, are trying to give the revolution "supreme hope and supreme thought," the added dimension of a new mankind and not simply a new mode of production. But precisely because the French New Left includes more intellectuals than workers, it wants to work for political revolution and not merely a cultural revolution. It refuses to face the obvious fact that if the students and intellectuals succeeded in enlisting the working-class masses which today are still under the influence of the Communist party, it is the latter which would inevitably seize power after the collapse of legal or bourgeois power. The French New Left is forced by its rivalry with the Communist party to be political, to make

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permanent use of the Marxist vocabulary. This rivalry condemns it, perhaps, to play in spite of itself the game of the Communist party, "objective ally" of the Gaullist regime against the troublemakers and heir to this regime in the unlikely event of its demise.

In the United States the SDS is opposed to the establishment or the power elite, to those responsible for the unjust destiny imposed on the blacks. On the political level the presidential election of 1968 must have increased the sense of alienation of the rebels. Between two "professionals," one committed to Johnson, the other representing the Eisenhower era, they saw no difference that gave any meaning to their choice. For Senator Eugene McCarthy a number of students had agreed to shave and bathe, in other words, to re-enter the system in order to devote themselves to a cause. Perhaps Robert Kennedy would have inspired similar results. For the time being the revolt, in spite of its political inspiration and objectives, seldom goes beyond the confines of the campuses, and although it uses Marxist or para-Marxist language, it remains primarily cultural.

The meaning of this cultural revolt is more easily discerned on the other side of the Atlantic. In France the organizations of businesses or universities retain too many authoritarian characteristics which are contradictory to the exigencies of rationality and efficiency for one to be able to clearly distinguish the meaning of the revolt, to tell whether it is against an oligarchy of another age or against a triumphant technocracy. In the United States discrimination operates automatically, as it were. The rebels take their distance with regard to the traditional values of the middle class—the cult of work, of success measured in terms of money or social prestige. They refuse to become a part of the milieu, to adjust to it; they dream of expressing their uniqueness or of creating. Wrongly or rightly they denounce society, and indeed the university itself, as an obstacle to authentic existence.

The young people in France, hostile to consumer society, were in their own way expressing a nostalgia of identical inspiration: neither production nor material success represents the final objective for the collectivity or for the individual. For the individual it is a question of living, of realizing himself, of obeying a higher morality than that of effort and productivity. But the French protest, coming out of bourgeois milieus, retains an element of ambivalence,

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because affluence can be discerned on the horizon, although at a considerable distance from the present reality. In the United States the transfiguration of indefinite growth into the common good is more inclined to seem absurd than in a France undergoing modernization. There, the rejection of the Puritan and capitalist ethic may foreshadow the societies of the near or distant future.

The German SDS owes a great deal to the critical theory of the Marxists of Frankfort, especially to Herbert Marcuse and his book *One-Dimensional Man*. What a strange destiny for this professor, so typical of Weimarian Germany with his mixture of Freudianism and Marxism, whom the extremists of today recognize as their intellectual master. A grandfather for lack of a father! These Socialists of the sixties fill the universities with their uproar and the streets with riots prepared in advance. They have already crossed the boundaries of the universities and are expanding into an extra-parliamentary opposition (*ausser parlementarische Opposition*). They, too, are given to invective against enslavement by manipulation, against conditioning by the media of mass communication, while continuing to perceive the world through Marxist ideas (American imperialism, the possibility of collusion between the two imperialisms or the two hegemonies, etc.).

The demands of students vary in their details from one country to another or even, in the United States, from one university to another. Nevertheless two tendencies seem rather widespread, one concerning the content of instruction, the other concerning the organization of the university. The German youth who is a member of SDS does not want to become a *Fachidiot*, an idiot specialist. A number of American students are demanding from their colleges an expansion of general education, greater freedom of choice among the courses offered. Cohn-Bendit made similar statements at Nanterre. In the second place, students everywhere in great numbers are demanding power or participation in power. The term "student power" is becoming the equivalent of "worker power" or "black power." Students, and not merely the extremists, are determined to be *heard*, whether it is a question of pedagogical methods or even of the material being taught. But do the extremists and *enragés* want to improve the functioning of the university, become part of the system, or, by destroying the power of administrators (trustees or regents) or professors, do they want to offer a kind

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of prefiguration of other victories over other powers? The revolution in the university, against the adults and the theoretical possessors of knowledge, symbolizes the revolution in society.

From these facts, deeds, or words, what interpretation can be made? Let me begin by repeating the warning I gave at the outset: I do not claim to possess the truth. The significance of a historical movement like this one will only gradually emerge; I shall merely suggest some hypotheses, some directions for research.

V

Two causes of student unrest, one historical, the other sociological, seem obvious. This revolt marks the end of the postwar period and the appearance of a generation whose perception of the world is in many respects radically different from that of the preceding generation. In the second place, these student revolts are the result of a critique of the universities and of higher education which has come out of democratization.

Initially one is surprised at the similarity of the revolts, given the diversity of situations in the universities. But certain probable explanations immediately come to mind. In the United States the percentage of students in relation to each age group greatly exceeds the same percentage in any European country, but the number of students in France has tripled in the last ten years. Overcrowding, the mass phenomenon, the anonymity of interpersonal relations have become worse in Paris than in any American university. In this sense the situation is the same in spite of the discrepancy in figures or percentages.

Moreover, the problem created by the number of students depends on the degree of economic development, on the social context. There is no reason to believe that students who denounce the consumer society and refuse to become a part of it do not feel an unconscious anxiety about the future. What is the significance of the degrees to which they aspire? What chances do they have for a career? All observers have been struck by the conjunction in these movements of two categories of students, the first group brilliant, almost assured of success, the second group, on the contrary, comparatively old, without a clear vocation, having chosen disciplines of refuge like sociology or psychology which are close

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to their personal preoccupations but without sure opportunities. In France this reality appears clearly, since students of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* on the one hand (the cream of the French university system) and students of sociology on the other hand, many of them mediocre, have swelled the ranks of the *enragés*.

Perhaps there is a general significance in this conjunction of extremely talented students and students with a premonition of failure. The college diploma does not have the same prestige, the same value as a principle of social differentiation or hierarchy, precisely because of democratization. The college degree is becoming the equivalent of the *baccalauréat* of twenty years ago. Admission itself is becoming less and less significant. Only the Great Schools are escaping this devaluation because they refuse to appreciably lengthen the list of applicants accepted, a "Malthusianism" for which nobody blames them, which is not inspired by generous sentiments, but which does give fortunate candidates certain guarantees. The fact that democratization arouses more or less violent reactions at the two extremes, in the winners and the losers, the first in quest of a great cause and new values, the second translating their own resentment and confusion into invectives against the social order—this meeting of contraries only seems paradoxical. The first are trying to go beyond a success that requires no effort, the second are revolting against their disappointed hopes, which they conceal beneath a language of universal pretentions.

Similarly, it is possible to combine the historical explanation—the end of the postwar period, the first generation not to have experienced the World War and the postwar period—with the sociological explanation—the number of students, the democratization of the universities, and the necessary reorganization of these old institutions. At this point there arises once again a question already indicated but each time postponed: to what extent do the social and academic causes of these disturbances differ from one country to another? To what extent do certain similarities betray observers into error? I shall confine myself to a few brief observations. Up to now the most aristocratic universities, those least open to large numbers of students, those of Great Britain, though they have not escaped the wave of protest, have comparatively speaking been spared. But does the moderation of students, their civilized style, have to do with the solidity of the structure, the human

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scale of British universities, or with the characteristics of British life itself? In the United States the troubles began in a so-called multiversity on a huge campus where the administration tends toward the rationality of vast organizations and where students were experiencing that anonymity in human relations which is characteristic of those organizations against which the young, desirous of community, participation, personal expression, and creativity, are drawing up a bill of indictment.

In Italy graduates coming out of the universities are encountering a situation of unemployment which also threatens French graduates in certain fields (total lack of jobs or jobs which the graduates consider unworthy of them). In a sense this may be a general problem: what is the fate of the failures, the "drop-outs," in a democratized system of education? I should add, although once again I hesitate to interpret, that in France at least, the range of salaries is relatively more open than in the United States and in other countries of Western Europe, which may serve to restrict the employment opportunities of graduates, especially those in literary fields (or which reveals the irrelevance of the graduates to the needs of the economy).

In Italy, France, and West Germany the university crisis has just as much effect on relations among teachers as it does on relations between teachers and students. The position of full-fledged professors, *ordinarius* in Germany, titulars in France, or mandarins as their enemies call them, appears all the more unacceptable to the younger teachers because the younger group has grown enormously in the last few years. In France especially, there has been an increase in assistants, head assistants, and instructors without any corresponding increase in the opportunities for permanent staff positions. The professional demands of the assistants and instructors, as well as their age, have made them sensitive to student protests. Sometimes they have served as intermediaries between the rebels and the old teachers; sometimes they encourage the revolt.

VI

Beyond a generation in quest of a crusade, beyond students disillusioned by facile success or premature failure, beyond old edifices that are bursting because they are too small for the crowds

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that fill them, are we in the presence of a movement of historical significance? What are we to think of what certain German writers regard as an original version of a *Jugendbewegung?* Is it a counter-revolution or a revolution?

No one can choose unhesitatingly between these two views. If we consider the ideologies of the movement, we find few original ideas. Either the students invoke the authority of Marcuse, and in this case they hark back to what I call the Weimarian grandfather, the man who could neither retain nor dismiss the Marxism of his youth and who, in a Marxist vocabulary, expresses a romantic protest against modernity, technology, and manipulation. Or they identify imaginatively with Che Guevara, the bearded partisan, both soldier and adolescent, who went from country to country bearing the good news of the worldwide revolt of the oppressed. But what affinity is there between this struggle and the management of an affluent industrial society? Or they dream of Mao and the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guard mobilized against the party bureaucrats. But here again, in what way does this revolution, more imagined than experienced, correspond to the present situation in France or West Germany? A revolution as envisioned by Marcuse, Mao, or Castro requires first of all a seizure of power, a violent break with the established order, followed by a qualitative mutation of man and of society which the Weimarian grandfather hopes for without believing in it.

These young people no longer look to the Soviet Union as the embodiment of their revolutionary desires. They have gone beyond, or think they have gone beyond Marxism-Leninism, although they have retained some essential elements of this philosophy, above all a certain image of the historical world which is dominated by the tentacular, omnipresent "imperialist monster," the United States. In the Soviet Union they condemn the bureaucratic degeneration which Marcuse implicitly recognizes, since in theory he criticizes both of the advanced industrial societies. But does rationalized modern business tolerate "participatory democracy," that watchword of the New Left? Does technology stifle or promote individual expression? Rationalized organization naturally tends to become authoritarian, or to seem authoritarian to those who are part of it even if, especially if, there is no flesh and blood creature at the top of the hierarchy. The domination or oppression that is de-

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nounced is identified with machines rather than with human beings.

Here we encounter the fundamental ambiguity of this revolt, which is nostalgic in its ideologies and its vocabulary, but futurist when it announces certain aspirations which industrial society has not satisfied and which the very progress of modernity may make it possible to realize. So far student rebels have neither invented nor developed anything. Their themes of protest, their visions of the future seem to be borrowed from writers long-since buried in obscurity like the pre-Marxist Socialists, especially the French ones, Proudhon or Fourier. These utopians, or those whom Marx baptized as such, do not deserve the scorn which the Bolsheviks and their fellow travelers heaped on them for many years, but neither do they bring us a message that is directly translatable into practice. Fourier's thought, like Marcuse's, expresses a rejection of the reality principle, the demand for an existence entirely ruled by the pleasure principle. As a reaction to technological discipline or to the quasi-sanctification of the economic (or consumer) society, the resurrection of the pre-Marxists has historical significance: it marks a moment in the dialectical evolution of modernity. Experience has shown that the revolutions that called themselves and aspired to be Socialist did not suddenly alter the conditions of human existence. Thus the rebels no longer dream of collective ownership of the instruments of production but of a new mankind and a cultural transfiguration.

Do students who do not have any authentic experience in science feel this dissatisfaction more strongly than others? Possibly. Would a better balanced education which would combine an initiation in disciplined knowledge with the tradition of the humanities help to cure this melancholy or this passionate and sometimes nihilistic dream? I hesitate to give an answer. As far as I can see, the historians cite three kinds of precedents: the youth movements in Germany, the French romantics of 1830, who did not discover a cause worthy of them on a scale with the great revolution, republican liberty, and Napoleonic grandeur; and the thirties radicals, most of whom leaned toward fascism or national revolution, but who shared with today's protesters their intransigence, their taste for violence (which today is more symbolic than physical), and their sweeping, unconditional rejection of existing society. Members of youth movements, romantics, and national revolutionaries

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are recruited at the two extremes, among the idealists, who cannot adjust to what they find mediocre even when this mediocrity entails high social status and success, and among the embittered, who are proletarians in the original sense in spite of years spent in secondary schools and even in colleges.

Is it technological society, scientific civilization that calls forth this revolt? I would be inclined to correct the wording of this question or at least complete it to read technological society at a moment when a new generation is living in quest of its mission and of a great cause, and when secularization is gradually overtaking all institutions, including some whose centuries-old vocation seemed to protect them, the churches, particularly the Catholic church. Today, in the aftermath of Vatican II, a number of Catholics are talking as if their fidelity did not require belief in the supernatural. Some, like the students, are investing in the revolution and in violence a faith which has become, so to speak, unemployed. The authority of bishops or of the Pope, of the hierarchy in possession of dogmatic truth, is no longer safe from criticism and even rejection. Men of the church share the fate of scholars in the university. Are scientists alone able to escape this interrogation?

I said at the beginning of this paper that I was simply going to raise questions, to which I would give only partial and hesitant answers. The students, a majority of them coming from the literary disciplines or the social sciences, are playing the major role in a revolt which extends beyond the university to attack the institutions of scientific society: rational organization and the obsessional concern with output, production, wealth, and consumption. Nostalgic for a bygone culture, they are reviving old utopias, but they act according to methods incompatible with democratic rules, methods which stir sad memories in men of my generation. Must we tolerate these methods because these young people are disturbing calm certainty and intellectual complacency, because in spite of everything they are expressing not only the dissatisfactions of spoiled children but a hope for spiritual liberation beyond submission to the necessities of science as applied to production?

Here, in a single question, is the problem that concerns me, the problem which the events raise for us all: Can a revolt of the violent in the name of a libertarian ideal in a liberal society, open the way to the future? Can it help to humanize the authoritarian

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organizations of a liberal society? Or will it lead, directly or indirectly, either of itself or by the reaction it will bring about, to a repetition of the tragedies of yesterday, even before they have ceased to haunt our minds? Those who want to go beyond liberalism always run the risk of returning to a previous stage.

Men born at the beginning of the century have learned this lesson by bitter experience; will they succeed in transmitting it to a generation which is in danger of repeating history because they do not know it?

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Right Face, Left Face: The Columbia Strike

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The Columbia student strike played a sharply different role in the life of the two fringes of the political spectrum. Viewing events from the opposite end of politics from which they took place, the Right discovered confirmation of its well-established explanations for and cures of the ills of modern America. To the Left, however, deeply involved in the events themselves, the strike served not merely to confirm the coercive power of the establishment, but to present a critical stage of self-development. Here we shall be concerned not with the unfolding events of the strike itself, but with the perception of the strike by both Right and Left.

I

To the casual observer within the broad center of American politics, including those self-designated as liberals, the political Right displays a single uniform set of values. But like the Left, the Right is deeply fractured and, both in ideology and tactics, sensitive to gradations within it. These distinctions within the Right, in fact, form a sub-spectrum from the anti-liberal Buckley-Goldwater-Young Americans for Freedom grouping at the boundary line between the Right and the Center, through the anti-Communist John Birch Society segment, to the "international conspiracy behind communism" theorists, and, finally, on the outer fringe, to those who

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speak openly of the threat of Black and non-Caucasian peoples to Western civilization. From each of these segments of the Right came different reactions to the Columbia strike. Let us consider these reactions, in turn, from the extreme outer fringe to that segment which borders the Center.

For those on the extreme outer edge of the spectrum, the struggle for power between students and administration made little dent upon their political consciousness. Those who view the world with a sense of an impending racial crisis between black and white, in which often Jewish influence stands behind the blacks, could have found considerable confirmation of their beliefs in the strike, but, in fact, they paid little attention to it. One of the few such expressions was a letter to the *Thunderbolt*, publication of the National States Rights party: "Now it is the nation's colleges and universities that are being taken over by insane mobs of varmits [*sic*]. The only way to deal with these long haired-fuzzy faced faggots and return the campuses to normal is to get rid of the left-wing liberal so-called professors and the Communist Jew students."[1]

The "conspiracy behind communism" Right displayed equally little interest in the strike. When it did, the strike constituted simply another instance of the perennial conspiracy of irreligion to destroy a divinely-inspired social order. Here is a complex of views which suggests a conspiracy far deeper than communism, which speaks of the Jewish-Masonic inspired secularism of the modern world, which focuses on the Illuminati as the hidden hand behind revolution since the last third of the eighteenth century. A surprisingly large number of groups in America, each small but vocal and prolific in writing, espouses this view of an international conspiracy that cuts deeper in society and deeper in time than communism. *Don Bell Reports*, a newsletter issued by Marah, Incorporated, in Palm Beach, Florida, expressed a typical reaction from this vantage point:

> We are not suggesting a Communist Conspiracy per se. We are suggesting a far greater kind of conspiracy: a Satan-inspired conspiracy of Man against God which has led to a world-wide defiance of His law and His plans for both societies and governments; a conspiracy that manifests itself on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain. In the

[1] "C.L." to *Thunderbolt*, June 1968, issue #102.

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> greater sense, this is not a *political* revolution; it is a *religious* revolution: a revolution against God, which is neither new nor old, but *continuing*. . . .[2]

For such segments of the Right, Columbia and the rise of Students for a Democratic Society provided weary confirmation of long-held convictions.

The anti-Communist Right, most typified by the John Birch Society, viewed the strike as another instance of the Communist conspiracy. One of its most convenient sources of information was *U.S.A.*, published by Alice Widener.[3] Now in its fifteenth year, *U.S.A.* provides a subscription news service about left-wing activities. Among publications on the Right, it is unique because it often provides original reporting and not simply commentary on other sources. In recent years Miss Widener has covered extensively the student movement and provided reports on the Socialist Scholars Conferences, SDS conventions, the Committee for Independent Political Action in Chicago, and the National Conference for New Politics. Most of these meetings she attended personally. The issue of March 1, 1968, the details of which were most widely publicized by *Barron's*, reported on an SDS meeting in the subcellar games room at Weinstein Resident Hall of New York University, February 10-11, 1968, at which the Columbia "revolution" was plotted.[4] Several weeks later, in the issue of April 26, 1968, Miss Widener reported on the writings of John Hillson in the Colorado *Daily* at the University of Colorado, in which he outlined the details of the coming American revolution led by students and boldly "admitted" that eastern SDS members had been "arming heavily" and "caching their weapons for over a year."[5] Shortly after the Columbia strike a selected group of Miss Widener's student articles were reprinted in a single booklet of seventy-five pages and sold widely on the newstands as well as in right-wing circles.[6]

[2] "The Religion of Revolution: Before You Can Build, You Must Destroy," *Don Bell Reports*, June 7, 1968.

[3] See citations to Miss Widener, for example, in "Summer Starts in April," *Manion Forum Newsletter*, April 1968, and "On Campus—the Real Truth," *ibid.*, May 1968.

[4] *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, March 11, 1968.

[5] *U.S.A.*, April 26, 1968.

[6] Alice Widener, "Student Subversion," [New York, c. May 1968].

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The anti-Communist Right worked these details into their arguments in a variety of ways. John Reid Kennedy, in *Christian Beacon*, the weekly publication of Reverend Carl McIntyre, called the strike "one of the most successful Marxist strategies ever undertaken in this country and appears to be turning into one of the greatest successes Communism in this country has ever had."[7] Frank Capell cited the quotation of Paul Vilardi, leader of the Columbia student "Coalition of the Majority" in *U.S. News and World Report* that "Communists played an active role in the outbreak," and concluded, "The student uprisings and lawlessness are the result of indoctrination and secret plans carried out by the agents of International Communism."[8] Others stressed simply the penchant for lawlessness as a Communist technique.[9] One writer linked Columbia SDS with Cuba by means of Mark Rudd's visit there two months before the strike,[10] and another implied a tie with Communist China.[11] *Manion Forum* quoted with approval the argument of Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson that Castro, having failed in Latin America, transferred the revolution to Europe and the United States by means of the universities.[12] And columnist John Chamberlain likened the fires during the second Columbia insurrection to the Reichstag Fire.[13]

Writers for John Birch Society publications, especially *The Review of the News*, were more explicit in detailing the conspiracy as involving both administration and students. The Society has often been able to find the Communist conspiracy in both the establishment and the Left; both are engaged in friendly in-fighting. For example, one writer for *The Review of the News* described the Vietnam war as a product of a "super-authority," an "invisible World Government" which directed the actions of Chinese,

[7] John Reid Kennedy, "Columbia Milestone for Marxist Revolution," *Christian Beacon*, May 9, 1968.

[8] "The Communist Student Plan," *The Herald of Freedom*, May 17, 1968.

[9] *Freedom Talk*, July 29, Aug. 8, 1968; *The Wanderer*, May 9, 1968; Nils-Eric Brodin, "Social Violence is Counter Effective," *Christian Economics*, May 28, 1968.

[10] Brad Baker, "Documentation of Communist Influence in Racial Turmoil," *The Conservative Journal*, May-June 1968.

[11] *Freedom's Facts*, June 1968.

[12] "The Revolution," *Manion Forum*, July 1968.

[13] John Chamberlain, "Columbia U.; Reichstag Fire," Houston *Tribune*, July 25, 1968.

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Soviet, and United States leaders.[14] From such a perspective it was natural for a writer in *The Review* to focus not so much on the students but on the administration; why didn't it crack down? The obvious answer was that it is part of the conspiracy. "The so-called New Left is pursuing an obvious policy of rule-or-ruin with respect to American institutions of higher learning," wrote Susan Huck, "but it is really difficult to see why they have chosen to *ruin* what they already *rule*."[15] "Why would the Communists send students into the streets screaming against an Establishment which *is*—as in France and the United States—already under control of the International Communist Conspiracy?"[16] During his visit to Cuba, Mark Rudd got a "green light," but "what about the green light he got at Columbia?" The Columbia administration could easily be linked with the conspiracy, for were not its members and its trustees deeply involved in the Council on Foreign Relations, an organization which in many right-wing circles is the very core of the conspiracy and membership in which is proof of whether or not one is subversive.[17] And one writer hinted darkly, "Strangely enough, of the 400 persons arrested for criminal trespass during the revolutionary encounter at Columbia, *none were fingerprinted* . . . on order of someone at the top."[18]

Closer to the borderline between Center and Right as represented by such publications as *New Guard*, the organ of Young Americans for Freedom, *National Review*, *Human Events*, and *Twin Circle*, there is less emphasis upon conspiracy and more on misguided liberals. Here is a willingness to distinguish between Old Left and New Left, between the Communist party and Students for a Democratic Society, and a willingness to cast the issues in terms

[14] "The Vietnam Swindle," *The Review of the News*, Jan. 27-Feb. 2, 1966.

[15] Susan Huck, "Coup in Columbia," *ibid.*, May 22, 1968.

[16] Dave Gumaer, "Report: The New Left," *ibid.*, July 17, 1968.

[17] Huck, "Coup in Columbia." At least four books have appeared exposing the Council on Foreign Relations as a center of the international conspiracy: Dan Smoot, *The Invisible Government* (Dallas, 1962); Kent and Phoebe Courtney, *America's Unelected Rulers* (New Orleans, 1962); Mary M. Davison, *The Secret Government of the United States* (Omaha, 1962); Helen P. Lasell, *Power Behind the Government Today* (New York, 1963). It is not without significance that the Left also recommends some of these writings as exposures of the establishment; see North American Congress on Latin America, "N.A.C.L.A. Research Methodology Guide" (New York, 1968), 2, 5.

[18] Gumaer, "Report."

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of the contending parties within the Columbia context itself, to debate, for example, the issues of freedom of opinion, of majority rule, and coercion by minorities.

For its information, the anti-liberal Right relied upon two sources, in addition to Miss Widener; first, the students at Columbia who opposed the strike, whose most vocal spokesmen in right-wing publications were leaders of Young Americans for Freedom[19] and, second, the professional New Left expert, Philip Abbott Luce, formerly a leader of the Progressive Labor party who several years ago moved over to the Right and now has become the spearhead of YAF anti-New Left campus activities.[20] Rooted in campus conservative affairs, these spokesmen emphasized the vast differences between Berkeley and Columbia; while at Berkeley, they argued, there was no opposition to the Left, at Columbia there was. For the first time a major segment of student opinion was mobilized to oppose the student Left. Moreover, that counter-thrust, in their eyes, was the crucial factor in forcing the administration to bring in the police and end the strike.

The anti-liberal Right focused on two issues: the weakness of the administration and the coercive tactics of the SDS minority. In the months before the strike, the argument went, the administration made one concession after another; a pattern developed of SDS aggression and administration appeasement. In the fall of 1967 this pattern, for conservatives, came to a head; a committee had been appointed to study the issue of military recruiting on campus and many feared another administration "surrender." Those who favored open recruiting organized themselves as the "Students for a Free Campus." Then came the strike, and as the events of Tuesday, April 23, unfolded the administration did nothing and SDS opponents became angry. White students left Hamilton Hall and broke into Low Library, "all without a single sign of administration awareness, let alone opposition."[21] The role of anti-SDS students in subsequent days is well known; post-mortems by

[19] John C. Meyer, "What Happened at Columbia and Why," *New Guard*, Sept. 1968, pp. 14-17; Alan MacKay, "The View from the Right Side of the Campus," *Manion Forum*, Aug. 4, 1968; David Franke, "What Decent Students Must Do," *Human Events*, June 15, 1968, pp. 7-8, 11.

[20] Phillip Abbott Luce, "How SDS Hopes to Disrupt America," *Human Events*, June 15, 1968, pp. 9-10.

[21] Meyer, "What Happened at Columbia."

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the anti-liberal Right recount these as successful attempts finally to force the administration to act. The *National Review* drew larger lessons from the event. National Democratic party strength in Germany, it warned, increases with the excesses of Left students in Berlin. Here is "a warning to magistrates and administrators of the kind of danger that may lie ahead if they continue abjectly derelict in their duty."[22]

But equal attention was given to the relationship between majorities and minorities on campus. In fact, one conservative close to the Columbia events argued that the issue was entirely one of SDS tactics rather than its ends. Despite the endorsement of open recruiting by over two-thirds of those voting, SDS refused to accept it and obstructed Dow Chemical recruiting. The referendum on Thursday and Friday of the strike—in which the gym construction was condemned 4,093-1,855; SDS tactics deplored 4,142-1,325; and amnesty rejected 3,166-2,054—was emphasized. Dale Francis, publisher of *Twin Circle*, summarized the argument: "The right of an individual to dissent does not and must not include his right to destroy the freedom of others. . . . We are being challenged by totalitarians who, under the guise of exercising freedom, are violating the freedom of others."[23] Luce emphasized the point more precisely; the New Left argues that civil liberties are no longer important and can be abridged if "an institution and individuals associated with that institution have lost their legitimacy and their rights." This happens, said Luce, when an SDSer's conscience tells him that such is the case. Once, Luce reported, he had debated the president of the St. Louis University student body on participatory democracy. "What," asked Luce, "if through participatory democracy the group voted to continue in Vietnam?" The reply, "Obviously the majority would be wrong."[24]

The Columbia strike's major contribution to right-wing thought was to bring the SDS into center-stage as the symbol of all that was wrong in American student life. A report on SDS by J. Edgar Hoover, which received wide publicity in the mass media, served as authority to bolster the conclusions drawn from the stike events themselves. A large number of right-wing papers reported his re-

[22] "Campus Waves and Undertows," *National Review*, May 14, 1968, p. 73.
[23] Dale Francis, "Destroying Universities," *Twin Circle*, May 19, 1968.
[24] Luce, "How SDS Hopes to Disrupt America."

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marks with approval.[25] At the same time few segments of the Right sought to distinguish among the various segments of the Columbia Left. The distinction between SDS and such "student power" manifestations as the Students for a Restructured University was never made. None understood the tensions within SDS itself, and instead of noting the highly tenuous character of cooperation between black and white student groups, they were convinced that the two groups worked together closely.[26] By mid-summer the Right was primed to consider SDS as the major focus of its anti-Left student thrust; even to Young Americans for Freedom it had almost replaced YAF's traditional student enemy, the National Student Association.

II

While to the Right the Columbia strike merely provided new facts to confirm its previous views, and gradations of reaction conformed precisely with gradations in established outlooks, to the Left it presented a more complex challenge. For the strike came at a time when lines of differentiation within the Left were in the process of rapid formation. All segments of the Left—Old as well as New—shared in the general attack on the Columbia administration and its links with the larger national establishment—with capitalism and imperialism. All recounted the events at Columbia with special emphasis upon the misused power of President Kirk and the trustees, the brutality of the police, and the complicity of the "jocks." But even within these descriptions of the events there were differences in emphasis, in wording, in tone which were to emerge more fully in later weeks and months, as sharp conflicts among forces the Left had set in motion.[27]

[25] Alabama *Independent*, June 5-12, 1968; *The Cross and the Flag*, Sept. 1968; *The Wanderer*, Sept. 12, 1968; *Christian Battle Cry*, June-July 1968.

[26] Alice Widener, "More Trouble at Columbia?" *Human Events*, Sept. 7, 1968, p. 11.

[27] Details of the strike from a New Left viewpoint can be followed best via Liberation News Service releases which appeared in a number of underground papers. See, for example, Steve Diamond and others, "Revolution at Columbia," in *The Fifth Estate*, May 16-31, 1968; "The Columbia Revolution," Los Angeles *Free Press*, May 10-16, 1968; Allen Young, "Columbia Lives," Washington *Free Press*, May 18, 1968; Tom Hamilton, "Roll on Columbia," *Fifth Estate*, June 4-18, 1968. Other accounts are Stephan A. Levinson, "Hail Columbia, I was the only

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The transition in this development was the first police action in clearing the campus in the early morning of Tuesday, April 30, for this action sharply increased student support for the strike. The votes on Thursday and Friday of the previous week had indicated strong support for SDS on the substantive issues but not for its tactics. The police bust reversed all this, for now the onus of undesirable tactics was placed upon the police and the administration. The strike leaders suddenly found themselves with a mass of followers with whom they had to cope. But this very success carried with it the seeds of disaster for the strikers; so many new camp followers could not possibly see the strike issues and the proper course of action from here on in the same way. While divergent tendencies had been kept in check during the occupation by the desire of all for success, the bust and the new support provided an opportunity for each one of these tendencies to capture newly radicalized students for its own brand of left-wing politics. It should be emphasized that this sorting out occurred almost entirely within the newer Left movement. Although the Communist party and the Socialist Workers party, for example, covered the strike fully and published special material for organizing during it, they remained on the periphery of the subsequent intra-Left debate.[28] The same was true of the more recent "sectarian" manifestations of Marxism and Leninism.[29]

One of these sets of divergent tendencies sorted out liberals from radicals with respect to issues, tactics, and student power. SDS'

Reporter Inside," Berkeley *Barb*, May 3-9, 1968, and "Columbia Rules the Waives," *ibid.*, May 24-30, 1968; Jeff Shero, "Columbia, An Unhysterical Report," San Francisco *Express-Times*, May 9, 1968; Roger Taus, "How Rebels Did It," *Challenge*, Extra, May 1968; "Columbia Replies to Student Demands with Policemen's Clubs," *Guardian*, May 4, 1968; Irwin Silber, "Columbia: the Last Hours," *ibid.*, May 4, 1968; Constance Ullman, "Columbia Class Boycott is Success," *ibid.*, May 11, 1968; "Students Plot Action at Columbia . . . and the Strike Goes On," *ibid.*, May 18, 1968; Randy Furst, "Columbia Rebels Discover the Enemy," *ibid.*, June 1, 1968; Peter Henig, "Columbia Moderates Confused, but Well-Endowed," *ibid.*, July 20, 1968.

[28] For Socialist Workers party coverage, see *The Militant*, May 10, 17, 24, 1968; for Communist party views, see *The Worker*, May 5, 7, 14, 19, 21, 28, 1968.

[29] See Karen Funkiel, "Columbia and the Future of Student Insurrection," *The Bulletin of International Socialism*, May 13, 1968; Pat Connolly, "Columbia Plans Crackdown on the Students," *ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1968; Danny Luce, "Red Flag on Morningside Heights," *Partisan*, IV (1968), 16-17, 29.

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major occupation has been to fashion a radical position among students in opposition to a liberal one. While liberals focused on due process and decision-making within the university, radicals emphasized the substantive issues of war and race and the attendant links between the university and the wider society. For many months SDS had sought to radicalize students from one position to the other; this objective dominated their tactics at Columbia. Even during the first days of the strike SDS sharply distinguished the two positions, but its energies at that time focused on events rather than ideologies to capture potential recruits; its major purpose, in fact, was to guide events, not so much to resolve substantive issues—which it did not believe could be resolved within the Columbia context—but to involve students in radical action and thereby recruit them to the cause. After the bust, however, the ideological tactics came to the fore and divergences appeared. The best statement of distinctions between the liberal and radical positions was written by Steve Halliwell in the *Guardian* in August. Liberalism, he wrote, can give answers to questions of morality and individual choice, but it is not equipped to deal with a campaign addressed to institutional power. The liberals had broken with the strike committee to focus on the activities of the Committee for a Restructured University. Halliwell welcomed this departure. He wrote, "There is a new solidity to the Columbia movement, now that it has transcended quibbling with liberal morality both in analysis and action."[30]

Included in Halliwell's category of liberals were not only old-line Democratic Socialists of the Socialist party type,[31] but also newer "non-violence" type of war resisters who generalized their objections to war into objections to the prevailing social system and sought the liberation of community and decentralized alternative institutions. Such magazines as *Liberation* and *WIN* expressed these views, and they soon found much to criticize. David Osher, a member of the Fayerweather commune during the strike who resigned from the Strike Steering Committee during the early

[30] Steve Halliwell, "Rebellion Heightened Radical Awareness," *Guardian*, Aug. 24, 1968. Another statement of the same position, but from a different SDS faction, is Paul Rockwell, "The Uprising at Columbia: A Radical View," New York *Free Press*, May 9, 1968.

[31] For a Socialist party reaction, see cartoon in *New America*, June 5, 1968.

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summer, outlined his reservations about strike tactics in an article in *WIN* in May.[32] While the "liberals" stressed the substantive issues and were willing to compromise on the issue of amnesty, the radicals, concerned more with issue tactics as a means of radicalizing students, made amnesty the central question. This disagreement, moreover, generated conflict between the communes and the strike central agencies, dominated more by SDS and its Progressive Labor party segment. The central agencies, controlling the flow of information among the various groups of strikers, exercised considerable influence in the development of tactics and issues, and prevented the "liberal" view on amnesty from seriously affecting strike tactics. Although these differences were temporarily submerged to assure victory, they came out after the bust. Sharp opposition developed to SDS-PLP leadership as being highly manipulative and inconsistent with the practice of participatory democracy. SDS has long been plagued with the issue of "elitism"; it crops up again and again in regional and national meetings. The Columbia strike gave this conflict new shape and meaning.

A third distinction between liberals and radicals was sharpened by the Columbia strike, the issue of student power. The decision of New Left leaders in SDS to focus primarily upon the campus battleground has generated a severe dilemma. On the one hand, they must mobilize students in terms of the matters that affect students directly, that is, university conditions that affect their own lives—courses, student hours, the draft. Yet, these matters have little immediate connection with issues of power in society and the world at large, issues to which New Left theoreticians and tacticians are most closely attuned.[33] SDS leaders are fully aware of this problem. Yet the fact remains that the energy they generate among students often serves primarily to change conditions within the university rather than to deal with the extra-university society. Student power symbolizes this problem. To the strike leaders student power was a false issue; students in no way could improve their lives within a university dominated by men whose power was inextricably linked to power in the wider society. To most

[32] David Osher, "Commencement at Columbia," *WIN*, July 1968; see also Maris Cakers, "Screw U," *WIN*, May 15, 1968.

[33] A good analysis of this dilemma can be found in Eric Mann, "Columbia Exam: A Special Supplement," *The Movement*, Nov. 1968.

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students, however, changes within the university were real possibilities involving real gains. As soon as the *Columbia Spectator*, immediately after the first bust, called for the heads of Kirk and Truman, strike leaders began to warn against the implications of student power.[34] Although hostile to student power, SDS finds that its actions invariably generate it.

III

If the strike sharpened differences between liberals and radicals, it also heightened divergent tendencies within radicalism itself. These had been in motion for some time, but the strike provided an opportunity for differences to emerge more sharply. The responsibility of conducting the strike and mobilizing in post-strike ventures those aroused by the events and the struggle for loyalty to different tendencies had the effect of increasing competition among rival radical groups. Although the Left, Old and New, appears to many in the Center and on the Right as monolithic, it is in fact composed of many individuals, groups, tendencies, each with its own brand of radicalism, its own explanations and cures, each seeking a following for its brand of truth. The very success of the Columbia strike spurred each on to new efforts in organizing.

During the twelve to eighteen months prior to the Columbia strike it appears almost as if the Left had chosen New York City in which to evolve its internal dialectic. A wide variety of new groupings and publications appeared on the scene. The Progressive Labor party had long been based there; its deep involvement in SDS meant that New York would be the focus of its impact on SDS.[35] The Lower East Side was developing its own brand of youth culture anarchism, with media outlets such as *Black Mask*, *Anarchos*, and *Rat*. Here also was the *Guardian*, which during the winter of 1967-68 had changed from a "progressive" to a "radical" weekly, and was especially receptive to the "new working class"

[34] Roger Taus of Columbia PLP and SDS wrote, "It wasn't for any low level abstract rhetoric of 'we want to make the decisions that control our lives,'" that the strike was conducted. "This is not a fight for 'structural reform.' NO 'NEW,' 'FREE' OR 'DEMOCRATIC' COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY CAN EXIST UNDER IMPERIALISM!" See Taus, "How Rebels Did It."

[35] Progressive Labor's activities in New York can be followed in its monthy magazine, *Challenge*, and its theoretical journal, *Progressive Labor*.

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tendencies within SDS represented by such spokesmen as Carl Davidson and Gregory Calvert.[36] And here, finally, was a rather new tendency which would emerge as the New York SDS Labor Committee, publishing its own periodical, *The Campaigner*, which castigated all anarchist and syndicalist decentralizing groups within SDS and joined PLP in attacking the "youth culture" base of the dominant SDS tendency.[37] The Columbia strike did not generate these divergent views, but it played a major role in shaping them and sharpening the subsequent debates among the New Left.[38]

The sharpest conflict came over the issue of youth culture. Much of the New Left has its roots not in a formulation of concepts of social structure and social change which, in turn, form the groundwork of action, but, instead, in the personal youth rebellion of our time. Rock music, certain styles of dress, pot, and sexual freedom are the outward manifestations of a culture from which the vast number of recruits can be gained and which, in turn, shapes much of the New Left. Personal rebellion gives rise to demands for "control over our own lives" and hostility to cops and authority figures; a systematic analysis of social change recedes into the background. True, those leaders who seek to shape this personal rebellion into a political movement, and thereby expose themselves to the charge of being an "intellectual elite," urge a more highly articulated set of concepts about the "new working class" or "post-capitalist society." But these theories are sustained not by intellectual content but by personal rebellion, and that source of energy not only generates theory but also shapes tactics and organization as well. It propels a theory of participatory democracy into an espousal of decentralization and anarcho-syndicalism in a variety of forms. It asserts the triumph of the individual will over reality, rather than

[36] See, for example, Greg Calvert and Carol Neiman, "Internationalism New Left Style," *Guardian*, June 8, 15, 22, 29, 1968.

[37] The first issue of *The Campaigner* appeared in February 1968. The most complete statement of its critique of the "youth culture" base are two articles, "The Politics of Crisis" (editorial) and C. LaRouche and L. Marcus, "The New Left, Local Control and Fascism," in *The Campaigner*, Sept. 1968.

[38] A brief introduction to some of the varied recent currents in the New Left, with good coverage of bibliographic sources, is James P. O'Brien, "The New Left, 1967-68," *Radical America*, II (Nov.-Dec. 1968), 28-43, the third of a series on the New Left since 1960.

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a disciplined movement working with the forces of the external world.[39]

In contrast with this view is one which emphasizes the need to build sustained, disciplined power within a framework of economic inequalities and the industrial discipline which generates and sustains them. There is emphasis on the working class, as in Old Left thought, as a source of power which must be organized, disciplined, directed into action to take power from those who control the system. Decentralization only vitiates this discipline, it is argued; one must seize the power of the state rather than buy the romantic notion held by anarchists that they can destroy all power and live in a purely libertarian condition; individual rebellion must be harnessed, converted into disciplined group action. Student action is not enough, for student action inevitably leads to student power and isolation from the larger world; instead, worker-student alliances should be cemented into a source of disciplined power. While the youth-culture Left seeks contacts with blue-collar workingmen in terms of a common youth rebellion, the working-class Left seeks those contacts within the context of the work situation. It is hardly surprising that the latter segment of the Left is often "straight" in personal behavior and pointedly rejects pot, "hippie" styles, rock music, and sexual freedom.

These tendencies joined in the Columbia strike, but soon afterward diverged. The Liberation School which the strike committee set up soon after the bust was intended to be an example of a new kind of university; instead, it became the seedbed of differences and provided the opportunity for those competing for loyalty within radicalism to shift their strategy from action to explanation. Here, for example, in the post-strike days Paul Rockwell and Tony Papert argued for the position of the New York SDS Labor Committee against the "new working class" tendencies. Their development of a well-formulated position was one of the major New Left innovations in the summer of 1968. By the fall they had become a major source of opposition to the "new working class" element in Columbia SDS; they supported the Teachers Union and opposed community control in the teachers strike on the grounds of the

[39] A thoughtful analysis of this view and its implications is Irving Louis Horowitz, "Radicals and the Revolt Against Reason," *New Politics*, VI (1968), 30-41.

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dangers of decentralization, and this in direct opposition to SDS leadership. SDS in turn abolished the Labor Committee and erected a new one in its place.[40]

A more persistent conflict developed between Progressive Laborites and the "new working class" theorists. Since early 1965 PL had worked hard to strengthen its position within SDS. By 1968 SDS meetings had become deeply involved in the conflict between PL influence and its youth-culture opposition. The two factions had worked together fairly well during the Columbia strike, but shortly thereafter Steve Halliwell had bitterly attacked PL for its tactics during the strike.[41] The animosity increased at subsequent SDS meetings. Youth culture and "new working class" theory were attacked in the pages of *Progressive Labor*, and the two positions were aired thoroughly in *New Left Notes*.[42] Although PL joined forces with Columbia "new working class" leaders to oust their rivals, the New York SDS Labor Committee, the conflict between the two tendencies remained to vitiate the strength of SDS.[43] By January 1969 Staughton Lynd could complain bitterly in *New Left Notes* that sectarianism with all its tactical devices had made the New Left into an up-dated version of the Old Left.[44]

[40] The conflict between SDS and the Labor Committee, from the latter point of view, can be followed in "SDS, Last Spurt of Growth?" and "'Police Socialism' in NYC," in *The Campaigner*, Dec. 1968. For other views see Louis Dolinar, "Labor Committee Disbanded by SDS General Assembly," *Columbia Spectator*, Oct. 31, 1968; Tony Papert, "Community Control, a Better Idea," *ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1968; and *New Left Notes*, Dec. 18, 1968.

[41] Letter by Steve Halliwell, "Open Letter to the Membership on Columbia's Student Movement," *New Left Notes*, June 10, 1968, and reply by Roger Taus, *ibid.*, July 8, 1968.

[42] Jared Israel and William Russel, "Herbert Marcuse and His Philosophy of Copout," John Cerve, "Drugs: Liberator or Oppressor?" and Jeff Gordon, "SDS: An Analysis," all in *Progressive Labor*, VI (Oct. 1968), 59-72, 73-78, 99-116; see also Jared Israel, "SLAP and the 'national collective,'" and Les Coleman, "False Factionalism and Ideological Clarity," in *New Left Notes*, Dec. 18, 1968.

[43] Several leaders of the SDS Labor Committee, especially Steve Fraser in Philadelphia and Tony Papert in New York, had broken with PL in May 1968 and thereby constituted a rival group to PL. Their position is described in Fraser and Papert, "Economism or Socialism?" *The Campaigner*, Dec. 1968. Some Progressive Labor criticism of the Labor Committee, in turn, can be found in Larry Poleshuck, "Phony 'Labor Committee' Loses SDS Name," *Challenge*, Dec. 1968.

[44] Staughton Lynd, "Factionalism," *New Left Notes*, Feb. 5, 1969.

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Finally, Columbia sharpened the relationships between black and white radicals. During the strike the white Left took great pains to stress the unified action of blacks and whites.[45] "The most decisive aspect of the Columbia story," one author wrote, "is the close tie between the student struggle and the black liberation struggle."[46] Progressive Laborites made much of this because they constituted the only segment of Columbia radicals which had active, personal links both within the Harlem community and Students for a Democratic Society.[47] On the whole, however, the highly tenuous, uncertain, unpredictable relationship between the SAS and SDS did not become clear until after the strike, and most notably in *Up Against the Ivy Wall*.[48] It appears that Columbia, without much explicit theorizing among the white New Left, defined the only viable relationship between white and black campus radicals that exists: black radicals define their objectives by themselves and whites, in turn, can decide whether or not to support them.

Within the Left, therefore, the Columbia strike constituted a watershed. Into it poured the stream of energy which had been in the making for several years. The details of the strike clearly were not planned, but the fact of confrontation was, and one senses an onrush of New Left forces to the maelstrom of New York City politics during 1967 with a heightened sense of expectation that here is where the action would be. Columbia became the setting for that action in the city, capturing the spotlight from a variety of minor incidents throughout the city's colleges and universities that could have become major ones. But, in turn, the New Left got more than it had bargained for. For it generated not only a strike which showed its strength in terms of student power, but also stimulated a sharp clarification of tendencies within the amorphous setting of "participatory democracy" which led off into a variety of directions. The immediate impact of these divergent tendencies

[45] Michael Jay, "Columbia Sit-In Tests Black-White Unity," *People's World*, May 18, 1968, and "Columbia Revolt: Study in Black and White," *ibid.*, May 25, 1968.

[46] "2, 3 Many Columbias," *The Movement*, June 1968.

[47] This is reflected in Juana, "Black Students Link With Harlem," in *Challenge*, Extra, May 1968.

[48] Jerry Avorn and members of the staff of the Columbia Daily Spectator, *Up Against the Ivy Wall* (New York, 1968), passim.

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was to vitiate the movement and to place heavy burdens upon the new SDS ventures which, inspired by the Columbia strike, arose throughout the nation in the fall of 1968.

Right-wing conceptions of politics have in the past decade displayed few innovations; writers continue to restate, add detail, and elaborate, but the perceptions of the Right remain basically unchanged. Columbia merely confirmed these views. But during the same time the Left has been undergoing considerable ferment; it has, in fact, generated more variety in Left thought and action than in any previous time in American history. This complex elaboration has grown out of a variety of circumstances, but it seems clear that among them the Columbia strike was one of the most crucial.

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A University Besieged: Nanterre, 1967-69*

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Nanterre, an obscure industrial suburb whose fame rested hitherto on its having been the birth place of St. Geneviève, the patron of Paris, on a nineteenth-century popular song about its firemen, and, more recently, on its shanty towns (*bidonvilles*) for immigrant workers from North Africa, has suddenly become known all over the world as the cradle and springboard of the French students' rising and of the pseudo-revolution of May-June 1968. The study of the Nanterre microcosm ought, therefore, to shed some light upon the character of this much applauded movement, which, though it did not overthrow the Gaullist regime, succeeded at least in destroying most of the French system of higher education.

The *Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines* of Nanterre was opened in October 1964; it had been established in order to relieve the dreadful overcrowding at the Sorbonne, where the number of enrolled students *for arts studies only* had exceeded thirty thousand, while there were few possibilities for putting up new buildings in the densely populated Latin Quarter. The Nanterre location had been selected for three main reasons: its relatively

* This study is based upon personal observations, documents (minutes of faculty meetings, leaflets, and the like), and interviews. When hearsay evidence or hypothesis, rather than established facts, has been used, it has been identified as such.

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central position in respect of the western part of the Paris conurbation, the project of a new and fast subway line which would connect the campus with central Paris in a few minutes,[1] and the fact that the French Air Force owned a large plot of land there (about eighty acres), used for a rather derelict material depot, which it was willing to sell to the University of Paris at a nominal price. Those advantages were decisive in the eyes of Professor André Aymard, dean of the Sorbonne, who was largely responsible for having the Nanterre project adopted by the government and realized.[2] Though a great deal could have been said against establishing a university at Nanterre, this distinguished scholar of ancient history had a puritanical indifference to the environment. The new "campus"[3] was a sort of desolate no-man's land, on which stood a number of corrugated iron sheds. With a number of buildings under construction, it became in winter an ocean of mud. Surrounded by railroad tracks, factories, and large gray blocks of cheap apartment houses, and with the infamous shanty towns of Nanterre not far away, this grim and depressing neighborhood had none of the amenities—the cafés, cinemas, and shops—which students frequented in the Latin Quarter. Many students also had transportation problems, though there was a good railroad connection with Paris and some special bus services were established. Under such conditions, the university authorities foresaw that few students would volunteer to go to Nanterre, and they decided that from 1964 onwards all the arts students entering the University whose place of residence was in the five western *arrondissements* of Paris and in the nearby suburbs would be compelled to register at Nanterre.[4] Many observers have thought that this "forced labor" system, and the un-

[1] In fact, the construction of this *Métro-express régional* was delayed by technical difficulties, and train services to and from Nanterre will not operate before 1971.

[2] Unfortunately, he died suddenly in July 1964, before the opening of the *Faculté*.

[3] The Arts *Faculté* was built first; later on, a School of Law and Economics, an annex of the Political Science Institute *(Sciences-Po)*, a large university library, two student restaurants, and dormitories for 1,500 students were built or started. These institutions were part of the University of Paris, but the Arts *Faculté* was from the start independent of the Sorbonne.

[4] Residents of those areas who had already started their studies at the Sorbonne were allowed to remain. It must be remembered that French uni-

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attractive environment, were instrumental in provoking discontent and eventually revolt among the students, but this was only a secondary factor, except in the case of students who were living on the campus in dormitories; completely isolated and influenced by the desolate landscape they were overlooking, they fell easy prey to the extremists who infiltrated the *Résidence Universitaire.* But they were a minority, and, for most students, the drawbacks of Nanterre were largely balanced by several important advantages.[5]

Instead of the old, dark, dilapidated buildings of the Sorbonne, they found at Nanterre spacious, well-lighted, modern, pleasant concrete and glass edifices. There was no overcrowding, no queuing for entering lecture theaters, where everybody could find a seat; at the Sorbonne, as is well known, students often had to sit on the floor. The staff/student ratio was better than in nearly all other French universities, so that classes and seminars could be kept at a reasonable size[6] and closer relations between teachers and students could be established. Moreover, though the quality of the faculty was rather uneven (of which more later), there were a number of brilliant and devoted teachers[7] who did their best to improve and renovate methods of instruction and examining (for instance, in 1966-67, first-year students, whose work during the year had been satisfactory, were in large numbers exempted from final examinations). There is no doubt that during the first three years of Nanterre, most students were fully conscious that they enjoyed better working conditions than in other universities, especially as compared with the Sorbonne, and they felt quite happy; some of them are saying now: "For three years, Nanterre was a paradise. . . ." Meanwhile, enrollment was increasing rapidly: around 2,000 students in 1964-65, 4,000 in 1965-66, 8,000 in 1966-67.

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versities recruit on a regional basis and that most students live with their families.

[5] The sight of the large-scale building which was going on was exhilarating to many students.

[6] Foreigners often think of French university teaching as being made up only of formal lectures *(cours magistraux)* by professors to audiences of several hundred students. In fact, for the last twenty years lectures have been supplemented by an increasing number of *travaux dirigés,* where groups of students work under the guidance of a junior faculty member.

[7] The average age of full professors was much lower than at the Sorbonne.

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I

Some tensions had appeared at an early date, but at first they developed inside the faculty, and the students were not involved. The first nucleus of full professors (fourteen of them) had been selected in 1964, through election by the whole professorial body of the Sorbonne. Though most appointments were good, there were a few unfortunate choices of second- (or third-) rate men, who, moreover, were ambitious, muddle-headed, restless, and generally of extremist political views. When new appointments were made (each year about ten new chairs were established, the holders being elected by the Nanterre professors alone), these men succeeded by intrigues and maneuvers in having elected a number of people of the same caliber; they also recruited as lecturers and assistant lecturers men who were generally well to the left in politics. The moderates reacted after a time, and the faculty became deeply divided; each election to a new chair was bitterly fought, with no holds barred, the left wing voting according to the political views of the applicants. This early division of the faculty was important, as it was later to facilitate greatly the activities of the revolutionary students.

On the students' side, the first harbinger of the troubles to come did not occur before March 1966, but few people understood its significance. There was then a three-day strike organized by the UNEF[8] as a protest against the government's policy (or lack of it) in university affairs. This was nothing new; such short strikes, once or twice a year, had long become an institution in French university life. They were normally quite peaceful; but this time, on March 17, an unpleasant incident took place; two girls who wanted to enter a building were molested by a group of pickets; a professor tried to intervene to protect them, but was surrounded by an angry mob, maltreated, struck in the face, and had two teeth damaged. Such an outrage was almost unprecedented in French university life, but the most remarkable fact was that no action whatsoever was taken against the culprits. The pickets

[8] *Union Nationale des Etudiants de France*, a student "trade union" which had been captured by left-wing elements during the Algerian war, and had moved further to the left ever since; only a small minority of students joined it (at Nanterre in 1967 it had a few hundred members out of ten thousand students), but it was the only effective organization of students in most universities.

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spread the trumped-up charge that the professor had first slapped a girl-striker's face, but a commission of enquiry soon proved that this was entirely groundless. The dean nevertheless refused to take any disciplinary sanction and dissuaded the victim from bringing an action against his aggressors. Moreover, at a general meeting of the whole faculty, which happened to take place two days after this incident, two leaders of the left wing, Cyrille Arnavon, a professor of American literature, and Mikel Dufresne, a professor of philosophy, spoke against their colleague who had been assaulted and prevented a motion of sympathy and solidarity from being carried. This was symptomatic of the attitude of a number of faculty members; moreover, the militant students had seen the green light: they now knew that they could go very far without much risk and that they would find defenders among the faculty.[9]

This was an isolated incident, however, and a full year elapsed before some new trouble broke out, this time not at the University properly speaking, but at the nearby dormitories (*Résidence Universitaire*). Early in 1967 the UNEF had started, at Nanterre as at other universities, a campaign against the regulations and disciplinary by-laws of such establishments, especially as regards visiting rights in girls' dormitories.[10] Militants denounced the "sexual ghettos" which the authorities had established, and clamored for the "liberty of circulation" between girls' and mens' dormitories.[11] Eventually, in March 1967, a posse of students occupied one of the girls' dormitories. This time Dean Pierre Grappin, who had authority over the entire campus, acted. He called in a strong body of police, and the occupied building was evacuated without violent incident; a number of students who had taken an active part in the occupation received a suspended sentence of expulsion from the *Résidence*. In fact, however, the sit-

[9] Several future ringleaders of the *enragés* were involved in this episode.

[10] The University acting *in loco parentis*, and many girl residents being under age, girls were not allowed to have male visitors in their rooms. There were no such restrictions in men's dormitories, and, as a matter of fact, a year later it was noticed one morning that between 7:00 and 8:30 A.M. 132 girls left a building with rooms for four hundred men.

[11] Documents which were later discovered proved that this slogan had been selected because it was supposed to be useful for "mobilizing" student opinion in a campaign intended in fact to destroy the University.

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uation there worsened. Students who lived on the campus were isolated, had no opportunities for amusement, were depressed by the grim surroundings; moreover, many of them were from abroad or from the provinces, and some had broken with their families—they were a fertile recruiting ground for those who had been planted there by several revolutionary movements. The *Résidence* became, then, the stronghold of a strange students' underworld, where political activism was mixed with sexual promiscuity.[12] And during the next year it became the "sanctuary" of the revolutionary groups, where they prepared and stocked their posters and leaflets, as well as their armaments; moreover, their members and sympathizers living in the dorms had the enormous strategic advantage of being "on the spot," only three hundred yards from the university buildings and ready to rush there at any time.

On the other hand, the intervention of the police in the dormitories had been most useful to the extremists, as it gave them a pretext to attack Dean Grappin and denounce him as a *flic* (copper). Nothing could have been more unfair; a distinguished expert in German literature, Grappin had been active in the Resistance and had luckily escaped in 1944 from the train which was taking him to a death-camp in Germany. He had been dean at Nancy and later a professor at the Sorbonne; but he had felt uneasy in this venerable institution and had moved to Nanterre when it was founded to become its dean,[13] with the hope of creating a new, more modern, and more humane type of university. A liberal in the best American sense, he was also an excellent administrator, but later events were to prove that, though brave and clear-sighted, he was also irresolute and too susceptible to influence, especially from some of his former left-wing friends. Though he has been unfairly attacked (and shamefully treated by the government), his irresolute policy may have had some respon-

[12] See note 10; professional prostitutes from Pigalle were living clandestinely at the *Résidence* and doing a brisk trade. So were young Arab boys from the nearby *bidonvilles*. A recent survey has shown that many of the girl residents were behaving promiscuously.

[13] Up to 1968 French *Universités* were purely administrative units; the "living" organisms were the *Facultés* (arts, sciences, law and economics, medicine); each one was administered by a dean who was elected for three years by the professorial body.

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sibility for the collapse of the new university he had done so much to build.

At any rate, the incidents at the *Résidence* had no immediate sequel, and it was only at the beginning of the next academic year, in November 1967, that the situation at Nanterre deteriorated seriously and openly. The 1967 *baccalauréat* (high school-leaving examination) had been unusually easy, so that there was an unexpectedly large inflow of first-year students,[14] whose number exceeded five thousand, while total enrollment reached nearly twelve thousand. For the first time there was at Nanterre some overcrowding, reminiscent of the Sorbonne;[15] the staff/student ratio decreased sharply and a number of students were stranded without classes (*travaux dirigés*) or were in far too large classes. But the most serious ground of complaint was the hasty enforcement of a new curriculum of studies, the so-called *Plan Fouchet*,[16] which had been decided upon by the government. This new system had some advantages, but it was certainly a mistake to impose it at once on all students, including those who had started their studies under the preceding system, since a number of them believed (wrongly, for most of them) they would have to spend one year more to get their degree; they felt cheated, and many others felt bewildered by the intricacies of the new curriculum and by the complicated equivalences between exams and degrees of the old and new systems.

These various difficulties and the latent anxiety which they aroused were cleverly exploited by a group of agitators—both faculty and students—who came mostly from the sociology department. That department had been established in 1965, and the first professor to be elected (in a surprise vote) had been Henri Lefebvre, of dubious competence, who, though expelled from the Communist party, fancied himself as a sort of pope of modern Marxism. Later on, and in order to balance his deleterious

[14] As is well known, French universities have no control over admissions and must accept any *bachelier* who wants to register; but the standards of the *baccalauréat* have gone down steadily since World War II.

[15] Inasmuch as the building of the School of Law and Economics was not completed in time, instruction was given in the Arts buildings.

[16] From Christian Fouchet, Minister of Education; energetic, but without any experience with academic problems, he did a good deal of useful work, but was a bogeyman to leftist faculty and students.

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influence, three serious sociologists—Alain Touraine, François Bourricaud, and Michel Crozier—had been appointed, but the harm had been done; the revolutionary verbalism of Lefebvre was playing havoc among his students (all the more since sociology in France as elsewhere seems to attract young people who dislike the society in which they live), and he had appointed to most lectureships his personal protégés, all of them of extremist views and many of them also of mediocre intellectual quality.[17] They introduced pedagogical methods which concentrated on the analysis of current political problems, and changed their classes into "happenings" of revolutionary propaganda.[18] Lefebvre carried on a personal vendetta against Touraine, who had recently succeeded him as head of the department, and, with the help of his protégés, deliberately excited the students by playing upon their difficulties related to the Fouchet reform (the enforcement of which was especially delicate in sociology) and upon their fear of unemployment (job opportunities for sociology graduates are notoriously poor in France). They also spread a myth about a "black list," that is, that the university administration and rightist professors had drawn up a list of militant leftist students in order to fail them at their exams.[19] On November 17 the sociology students decided to strike as a protest against the Fouchet plan, to boycott lectures and classes and to transform them into discussions on university and political problems. The UNEF of Nanterre, which had been at first outflanked, decided to join the strike, which at once took on an unprecedented character.[20] While

[17] Having few qualifications, they were paid much less than most other lecturers and, therefore, they were resentful.

[18] Epistemon [Didier Anzieu], *Ces Idées qui ont ébranlé la France (Nanterre, novembre 1967-juin 1968)* (Paris, 1968), 22-25.

[19] This myth was to be used again and again during the next few months. It was absolutely groundless, and its origins have been explained; in June 1967 during a telephone talk with a sociology lecturer named Henri Raymond, an administration employe had expressed her surprise that one student, who had been prominent during the recent disturbances at the dormitories, had been exempted from exams. Raymond did not report this to the head of the department (Touraine) or to the dean, but only to Lefebvre; the two of them did not need more to proclaim everywhere that there was a black list.

[20] Trotskyists and left-wing Catholics were prominent among the ringleaders.

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strikers formerly had been content with picketing at the doors of university buildings, this time they operated inside; "commandos"—mostly of sociology students—invaded lecture rooms and classes in other departments, demanded the right to launch appeals to strike, and several times snatched microphones from professors' hands. This strike lasted for a full week, but its degree of effectiveness varied greatly by department, and in fact only a minority of students struck despite the systematic use of violence on the strikers' side to intimidate their comrades. Eventually, on November 25, there was convened a professors' council, followed by a meeting of the whole faculty,[21] which decided to accept some of the strikers' demands,[22] especially the creation at the departmental and *Faculté* levels of *commissions paritaires* (fifty per cent staff, fifty per cent students), in which student grievances could be aired and discussed. This was an unprecedented and very liberal decision, but, like other aspects of Dean Grappin's progressive policy, it did not prevent the situation from deteriorating and may have acted as an encouragement to the extremists, by demonstrating that direct action worked and by making respectable the idea of *co-gestion* (the joint management of university affairs by staff and students).

Of course, some apologists for the student movement have maintained that those liaison committees were deliberately sabotaged by "reactionary" professors, who referred to them only insignificant problems and kept to themselves all important decisions. This is far from true. As a matter of fact, the failure of the liaison committees resulted mostly from the unrepresentativeness of their student members, most of whom were delegates of the UNEF branches or cells in the various departments and had been either self-appointed or elected by a tiny minority of the

[21] All of the full professors sat in the *Conseil;* they were joined in the *Assemblée* by a roughly equal number of delegates from the junior faculty. Grappin also summoned from time to time unstatutory *Assemblées Générales* of the whole teaching staff, as on November 25, 1967; this meeting took place in a room which was besieged by about two hundred strikers, a delegation of whom was admitted to present their grievances.

[22] They also asked for the transition from the old to the new system of studies to be made easier, for smaller classes, for the abolition of regular attendance checks and of the non-existent black list.

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student body;[23] they had little influence upon most of the students, and, on the other hand, were soon turned on their left flank by more radical elements.

II

After the strike of November 1967, and despite the acts of violence which had been perpetrated, peace returned to Nanterre for a time. The Ministry of Education made some additional money grants, so that the teaching staff could be increased and new classes opened; most of the difficulties which had appeared at the opening of the term were solved, and teaching proceeded satisfactorily for a few more months.

Some alarming developments were taking place, however, almost unnoticed. Several revolutionary groups were organizing, recruiting, training, and propagandizing. They belonged to various ideological and political strains of the extreme Left; there were Trotskyists, Castroists (or "Guevarists"), pro-Chinese Communists,[24] and also a group of anarchists, conspicuous by their costume and their obscene language, who, if they were often in the vanguard of the extremists, were not the most dangerous element. In many ways, these *groupuscules* (as they were to be called later) were at loggerheads with each other, but they were to unite in pursuit of the common goal of destroying the "bourgeois university," an effort in which unity of action concealed doctrinal differences. In this unification, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a sophomore sociology student, was to play a decisive part; stocky and red-haired, a loud, coarse, but effective orator, and a skillful agitator, he emerged as a born leader of men. On the other hand, there is weighty evidence that the Nanterre militants were not acting entirely spontaneously and alone, that they received advice and help from outside, for instance, from a Trotskyist underground organization, the "Lambert group" (so called after the

[23] In the history department (of one thousand students) fewer than one hundred people had taken part in the election of the committee of the "union" (affiliated with the UNEF); nonetheless, this committee represented the students at the department's *commission paritaire*.

[24] The "Maoists" seem to have stood aside during most of the subsequent events.

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pseudonym of its father-and-son leaders, it is one of the two main Trotskyist factions in France), from the Maoist cells at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, from the *Parti socialiste unifié* lodge at the *Ecole Normale* of Saint-Cloud. They also kept in close touch with left-wing faculty members, especially a number of lecturers in sociology, psychology, and philosophy.[25] It has been established that leaflets and posters which had been printed outside were regularly brought to the *Résidence* by delivery vans with suspicious license plates, and there are strong suspicions that the Nanterre movement received funds from East Berlin and probably China. There is also some indication that Nanterre was selected as a revolutionary proving ground because of its isolated location, the absence of any protection (in the Latin Quarter some police forces are always at hand), the "sanctuary" and stronghold which extremists had built up at the *Résidence*, and the vacillating policy of its administration. The strategy of the *enragés*, as they were soon to call themselves, a strategy which they explained quite frankly in speeches and leaflets, was very simple and unashamedly based on systematic and graduated provocations. They would start disorders and acts of violence *inside* university buildings, so that academic authorities, who had no means to resist such outrages (at Nanterre there were only fifteen porters, whose average age was sixty-one years), would be compelled to call the police. The radicals understood that many students were so viscerally hostile toward the police and would be so resentful of such an intrusion that they could be mobilized around the hard core of militants and used to provoke more serious disorders and eventually bloody clashes; the movement would snowball and might eventually bring about enormous street demonstrations and the most serious political repercussions, including possibly the overthrow of the government. At the very least, the hypocritical, authoritarian, and ultimately repressive character of the bourgeois university would be unmasked and its functioning progressively crippled and brought to a stop, so that capitalist society

[25] Some well-informed observers think that the revolutionary movement was really directed by the leaders of the SNE Sup. *(Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur)*, the leftist trade union of university teachers, the control of which had been recently captured by young extremists like Alain Geismar and Bernard Herzsberg.

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would be deprived of the fresh flow of skilled personnel which it needs.

The application of this strategy started with an incident on January 8, 1968. A large gymnasium with an indoor swimming pool had been completed on the Nanterre campus and was opened by the Minister of Youth and Sports, François Missoffe; Cohn-Bendit and some of his friends disrupted the ceremony by challenging the minister about an official report which had just been published on the situation of French youth, complaining that the students' sexual problems had been deliberately overlooked in the report and abusing the minister in obscene language. As Cohn-Bendit is a German citizen, the Minister of Interior, when he learned about the incident, wanted to deport him from France, but many people, including M. Missoffe, intervened in his favor and he was allowed to stay at Nanterre, his prestige greatly enhanced and the radicals emboldened by the incident.

On the morning of January 26 about one hundred students gathered suddenly in the very large entrance lobby of the university to hold a meeting of protest under the pretext that some plain-clothes policemen had been observed on the campus and that an anarchist, who was a notorious drug pusher, had been threatened with expulsion. They carried posters accusing Dean Grappin of being a *flic*, a Nazi, an SS. The provocation was a complete success. A few administration employes and porters arrived and asked the demonstrators to disperse; they were brutally jostled and struck. Grappin, who was lecturing at the time, was informed of the incident. He had for some time resolved never to call the police, except if acts of violence or vandalism were committed on the campus; such acts having been committed, he telephoned the police. He was, of course, falling into the trap which the extremists had set, but it is not easy to know what else he could have done. Everything now went wrong. The party of police which came was made up only of a dozen local patrolmen. When the police entered the lobby the demonstrators armed themselves with everything they could find at hand—chairs, benches, iron poles from bulletin boards, which they dislocated; they were joined by a number of other students (several much-attended lectures had just ended) who were furious at seeing policemen in-

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side the university and did not know why they had been called. The police were overwhelmed, forced out of the building, pursued on the campus, and stoned.[26] During the next few days there was some agitation, with impromptu meetings in the lobbies and the appearance of wall-posters attacking Dean Grappin (one of them showed him against a background of policemen brandishing truncheons). The extremists also distributed large numbers of leaflets, which for the first time were clearly directed against the professors; for instance, the heads of departments who had issued a declaration of solidarity with Grappin, which recalled his Resistance deeds, were vilified in obscene terms.[27] After a week an appearance of order was restored, but the climate had seriously deteriorated; a number of students had been made suspicious about the dean and the professors, and inclined toward the extremists, while a part of the faculty felt bitter toward the perpetrators of the recent outrages. The administration had lost face and had shown that it was powerless against extremists who were ready to resort to violence,[28] but it was also clear that police intervention would mobilize many students on the side of the agitators. While a policy of inaction was bound to let the extremists progressively cripple the university, the resort to police action was likely to lead to major disturbances. This dilemma was never to be solved.

There was, however, an interlude with only isolated incidents,[29] which lasted nearly two months, and it was only on March 22 that the *enragés* struck a decisive blow.[30] The pretext

[26] Grappin was hit several times in the back during this incident.

[27] One leaflet, headlined *Des salauds et des cons*, also denounced the university as a repressive system in the service of the ruling class and advocated violence as the only way of achieving "total and coherent confrontation." On the other hand, several groups of students protested against the extremists' excesses.

[28] On January 29 Grappin issued a declaration pledging that new acts of violence would not be tolerated, and the professors agreed to read it to their students; but it was an empty threat and many people knew it.

[29] In February the *enragés* living in the dorms proclaimed that disciplinary regulations were abolished. On the twenty-ninth a party of students invaded the room where Professor D. Anzieu (psychology) was lecturing and demanded a political meeting instead; when Professor Anzieu firmly refused, they threw eggs at him, overthrew the rostrum, and switched off the electricity.

[30] During the preceding days there had been some precursory rumblings. A violent manifesto, questioning the teaching of social sciences and the

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was that a former student at Nanterre had been arrested during the investigations following some bomb outrages against American business offices in Paris; the extremists maintained that he had been denounced to the police by the university administration. In the evening of March 22 a concert was taking place in one of the large lecture theaters, so that the university buildings were open. A group of 150 extremists invaded first the concert theater during an intermission and spoke against American imperialism and police repression. Then they stormed the unguarded eighth-floor tower which houses the administration offices and settled in the large "council room" on the top floor; they had brought beer and sandwiches, and remained until 1:30 A.M., picknicking, discussing, and doing some damage to the furniture.[31] It would have been easy to invest the tower and to arrest the 150 *enragés*, whose only possible exit was a narrow staircase; moreover, under French law, as a *party* which had *broken into* an *inhabited* building *at night*,[32] they were liable to long sentences of imprisonment at hard labor; at the very least they would have been identified, and the difficult problem of knowing who were the ringleaders and the hard core of *enragés*, which proved later to be intractable, would have been easily solved. It is possible that the movement could have been nipped in the bud by some such energetic action, but a number of unfortunate circumstances combined to prevent it. Vice-Dean Jean Beaujeu happened to be on the spot and he informed Dean Grappin, who was having dinner in Paris with two top officials of the Ministry of Education; they were in favor of calling the police, but Grappin gave *carte*

whole system of lectures and examinations, had been circulated (see Epistemon, 42-45); on March 14 some extremists had forceably entered the offices of several professors to hand the manifesto to them. On March 18 sociology students had refused to take a test paper in psychology and had forceably prevented the exam from taking place. On March 21 a meeting which several professors of philosophy and psychology had organized in order to discuss pedagogical problems with their students was disrupted by extremists, led by Cohn-Bendit, who accused the professors of being liars and said that he wanted neither teaching nor examining in the university.

[31] They also broke into the dean's office. It seems that Cohn-Bendit had tried to dissuade his comrades from undertaking this sit-in, but he was outflanked by the anarchists.

[32] The secretary-general and the accountant of the *Faculté* were living with their families on the sixth and seventh floors.

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blanche to Beaujeu, who temporized because, since the concert was still on, the large number of people on the premises and of automobiles in the nearby parking lots would have made matters awkward in case of a clash; he also thought it better not to give to the extremists front-page headlines in the next day's newspapers. After midnight, however, Grappin got in touch with the police authorities, but some time was necessary to prepare the mission; before a decision was taken, the students evacuated the council room at around 1:30 A.M. and vanished into the night.

III

This was the take-off for the *Mouvement du 22 mars*—a label with Castroist reverberations, which were not inappropriate, since this fateful Friday was certainly an important turning point. After this unresisted "desacralization" of the sanctum of professorial power the extremists were convinced that henceforth they could do at Nanterre everything they liked. They started at once a campaign of systematic and increasing agitation and provocation. Their declared immediate aim was to conquer "the liberty of political expression" inside the university and practically to exercise this right by holding political meetings at any time and in any room, even if lectures or classes were scheduled there. But this was only a first step: their confrontation had become radical and global, directed not against the forms of teaching or examining, but against the very existence of teaching and examinations, against the very ideas of objective learning and of culture; they openly proclaimed their intent to cripple the working of a university, which was a class institution, preparing "intellectual policemen" to enforce law and order in men's minds and to defend bourgeois society.

From March 25 on, the walls of the Nanterre buildings, outside and inside, were covered by enormous graffitti, in tar or paint, and by posters and "wall-newspapers," Chinese-style. These forerunners of the "wall-literature" which flourished in Paris two months later were generally written in obscene or scurrilous language. At one and the same time they denounced the bourgeois university and the class culture which it disseminated, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism; attacked the faculty and espe-

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cially the professors as old imbeciles; demanded political[33] and sexual liberties for the students; and invited students to commit what they called "creative violence."[34] Simultaneously, Nanterre was inundated with leaflets, impromptu meetings were held in the lobbies, and during or just after lectures agitators invited the students to revolt. Nanterre was already living in the delirious atmosphere of the huge and permanent "happening," which was to break loose in May in all French universities.

Ostensibly, the extremists were preparing a *journée d'action*, which had been fixed for Friday, March 29, during which they would occupy the premises of the philosophy, psychology, and sociology departments and hold round-the-clock political discussions. This was a disturbing prospect, since there was some evidence of preparations to use violence.

When it was confronted with this problem, the faculty appeared seriously divided at its meeting on March 26. Most were shocked by the behavior of the extremists, but there was a minority which sympathized with them or even surreptitiously encouraged them. They did not dare to side openly with the *enragés*, but their tactics were to protect them, and to cripple the discussions in the Council or the Assembly in order to delay or prevent any strong action which might have been decided. A master of such tactics was Alain Touraine, who had opposed the November strikers and had been bitterly attacked by them; now he shifted position. It is possible that he was tempted to return to the extreme revolutionary romanticism of his early days, rationalizing that the students had succeeded the industrial workers as the vanguard of the revolution. Another was Guy Michaud, professor of modern French literature; not highly regarded as a scholar and teacher, he was, however, ambitious, had wanted from the start to be dean of Nanterre, and saw in the upheaval an opportunity

[33] It was a rule in French universities that no political activities (such as meetings or distribution of leaflets) be allowed inside university buildings. In fact, however, political societies were always granted permission to use lecture theaters for meetings or discussions; moreover, student "trade unions" like the UNEF, which were largely political, operated freely and had rooms of their own, and their militants were allowed to address the students during intervals between lectures.

[34] A newsstand and bookshop was in fact plundered inside the university and the thieves wrote on the wall: "C'est nous."

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to overthrow Grappin and succeed him. He was helped by Mikel Dufresne, Robert Merle, Cyrille Arnavon, and a number of people of extreme left-wing views, who could not but sympathize with any revolutionary movement whatever its character, but who were also motivated by a thirst for popularity, by bitterness, and by ambitions. On the other side was a group of teachers—strong in the history, geography, and classics departments—who demanded energetic action against the *enragés*; they have been falsely charged with wanting "police repression," but in fact they were asking that the ringleaders be prosecuted before the university disciplinary court and eventually expelled.[35] Between them was a large number of faculty who, curiously, included the Communists; they condemned, at least by lip-service, the excesses of the *enragés*, but maintained that any kind of "repression," and especially any police intervention, would play into their hands and rally around them, by a kind of reflexive solidarity, the mass of students. For this group, therefore, the only solution was "dialogue" with the students. Their leader was a distinguished philosopher, Paul Ricoeur, a left-wing Christian, kindly and generous but, at least to some, unrealistic.

With these divisions and intrigues, the faculty sank into endless palaver and hopeless irresolution. Many people thought, however, that if the University were closed for a limited period, it would stop the escalation toward violence, act as a warning to the majority of students, and persuade them to resist the extremists.[36] Dean Grappin favored this solution, but he had first to persuade the rector and Minister of Education Alain Peyrefitte, who found it difficult to understand how serious the situation at Nanterre was. Eventually, after renewed disorders during the entire day of March 28, Grappin announced in the evening that instruction would be suspended for the next two days.

This "lock-out," however, almost unprecedented in French university life, did not solve anything. On March 29 the extremists

[35] Only a few ringleaders were known and the disciplinary proceedings (before the *Conseil de l'Université*) were slow and cumbersome, with full legal rights for the defendants; cast-iron evidence against them had to be presented—and this was very difficult to collect, especially in the climate of terror which prevailed.

[36] On March 26 a large majority of the Assembly authorized the dean to suspend teaching for a limited period.

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held meetings at the *Résidence* and on the campus and proclaimed that their "day of action" would be simply postponed until Tuesday, April 2. On March 30 during a long faculty discussion of how to meet this challenge, it was decided that the occupation of premises reserved for teaching would not be tolerated,[37] but Paul Ricoeur stated that some concessions ought to be made to the students before the reopening, especially to their demand of "liberty of political expression." It was therefore decided that a large lecture room would be reserved for political meetings. This capitulation, too, was to be quite useless, since the extremists proclaimed that they would meet when and where they wanted; indeed, it was a further encouragement to them.

When Nanterre reopened on April 1 the situation was no better than it had been the week before. At once the sociology sophomores refused to sit for a test paper. The next day agitation boiled over, and the extremists took over the University almost completely. At 10:30 A.M. they forcefully entered one of the two one thousand-seat lecture theaters, which was then empty, and held a meeting at which Cohn-Bendit and a representative of the German SDS addressed a very large audience. Dean Grappin had been informed of their plan a few minutes earlier; he was reaching toward the telephone, in order to call the police (strong units of CRS, the special riot police, had been stationed half a mile from the campus) and ask them to expel and arrest the disrupters, when Touraine and Michaud entered his office and pleaded against any strong action, which, they said, might lead to bloodshed, and so a last opportunity to end the disruption was lost. Later on Grappin ordered the lights in the occupied theater to be switched off, but they were turned on again after a few minutes, once more because of Michaud's entreaties.[38] At noon moderate students tried to hold a protest meeting, but it was broken up by armed extremists, who all the day long held ceaseless meetings and discussion groups. A number of lectures and classes could not take place, because of the

[37] Grappin declined to state how he would enforce this decision, and said that he would act according to circumstances.

[38] Still more humiliating were the repeated reminders over the administration's loudspeakers that "room E 1" was reserved for their meetings. In the evening some extremists infiltrated the administrative offices; an attempt was made to shut them up, in order to arrest them, but they escaped through the windows.

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occupation of the rooms where they were scheduled, and some others were deserted by most of their students. Several departments were still unaffected by the fever, however, and operated almost as usual; they mobilized their members, who stood on guard at the entrance of lecture rooms in order to protect their colleagues who were teaching. Altogether, this was "black Tuesday" for the administration, powerless to prevent the sabotage of teaching and the holding of unlawful meetings while it was announcing that such offenses would not be tolerated.[39] There was a temporary breathing-spell, however, since the Easter vacation started two days later.

When the new term opened on April 18 trouble broke out all over again. The walls, which had been cleaned up during the holidays, were covered within a few days with new graffitti and posters; there were more and more meetings; many lectures were disrupted and extremist propaganda became more violent, relentless, and threatening; a number of university employes, teachers, and moderate students were abused, maltreated, and even threatened with death. On April 22 the *enragés* distributed widely a cyclostyled pamphlet which described their program and recent activities; the back cover contained instructions for preparing Molotov cocktails, with the postscript that steel doors had just been set up at the entrance to the administration's offices. Two incidents, in addition, disclosed what the extremists meant by "liberty of expression." On April 25 the Communist students had arranged a meeting where Pierre Juquin, an ex-teacher and Communist member of Parliament, was to speak; but he could not utter a word: Maoists and Trotskyists invaded the room, stormed the platform, and Juquin had to escape through the emergency exit. In the evening another guest-speaker, Laurent Schwartz, a noted mathematician of extreme left-wing views, but who had made some statements which did not please the *enragés*, was insulted by Cohn-Bendit and prevented from speaking. Several times gangs of crash-helmeted students paraded on the campus or inside university buildings, armed with truncheons, clubs, or iron bars; a stock of fifty pickax handles, newly bought at a Paris department

[39] After this fateful day Grappin decided, however, to start disciplinary proceedings against Cohn-Bendit and five of his accomplices.

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store, was discovered in the dormitories; and it was learned that lectures on guerrilla tactics had been organized for the Nanterre students.

The faculty held several more endless and inconclusive meetings, in which its divisions appeared more acute. The group that believed in strong action against the students, which now included a majority of the full professors,[40] had become more severe in its attitudes; on April 22 nineteen professors presented Grappin with a sort of ultimatum, pressing him to deal severely with the extremist ringleaders and threatening to stop teaching if order was not restored within a week.[41] On the other hand, a number of faculty were siding even more openly than earlier with the radicals and doing their best to protect them.[42] Many discussions centered on a difficult problem which was looming ahead; final examinations were scheduled to start late in May, and there was strong evidence that the extremists intended to sabotage them. It appeared to many that the teaching and administrative staffs ought to be able to maintain order *inside* the examination rooms, but that some police protection would have to be provided *outside*, on the campus, if only to allow students access to the buildings. But left-wingers declared that they would not give exams under police protection.[43] Meanwhile, agitation was increasing, and matters came to a head earlier than anybody had expected.

The extremists had decided to organize an "anti-imperialist day" on Thursday, May 2, on which there was again a paroxysm of disorders, including the disruption of many lectures. In the

[40] The office workers and employes like the porters and cleaning women were also furious with the extremist students.

[41] The Council asked the rector and the minister to establish at Nanterre a university police force and a special disciplinary court. On April 29 it was told that the police force would soon be created (in fact, it did not appear at Nanterre until January 1969).

[42] Some of them were informing Cohn-Bendit and his friends about faculty discussions and decisions.

[43] On April 29 the faculty issued a statement expressing its determination to hold the exams, but it did not include the vital words "by all possible means," as some had suggested it should. It is only fair to add that faculty members who sided with the extremist students belonged to the "New Left" (especially to the PSU), and that a number of people of the "Old Left" (Socialists and even Communists) were very much opposed to the extremists.

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afternoon a serious incident occurred. A lecture for first-year history students was to be given as usual at 3:00 P.M. in one of the large theaters by Professor René Rémond, one of the luminaries of Nanterre. When he arrived he found that the *enragés* had settled down inside the theater and were projecting anti-imperialist films on Cuba and Vietnam; they told him rudely to lecture elsewhere. His students, who were waiting in the lobby, pressed him to lead them inside the room; he agreed, but when he opened one of the doors he was greeted by a volley of projectiles (mostly screws and bolts), and a commando of *enragés* came out and repelled his followers. Meanwhile, the extremists, on the pretext that members of the extreme right-wing movement *Occident* had threatened to come from Paris to attack them, had occupied strategic positions on the campus and on the roofs of buildings; they stood on guard there, helmeted, armed with clubs or iron bars, having at hand large stocks of stones and various other missiles, some of them with binoculars to observe the movements of the police who were stationed not far away.

By this time Dean Grappin had had enough. That evening at 8:00 P.M. he appeared on T.V. to announce that Nanterre was closed *sine die;* it would reopen department by department (the idea being not to reopen the sociology department, where most of the *enragés* were concentrated) and measures would then be taken to check entrance into university buildings.

The next day, however, the Nanterre *enragés* transferred their provocations to the Latin Quarter; most of the helmeted and armed students, who occupied the courtyard of the Sorbonne in the afternoon of May 3, came from Nanterre, and the police intervention which followed was the spark which ignited the powder keg and started large-scale riots that evening. On Monday, May 6, Cohn-Bendit and five of his associates were summoned before an examining committee of the *Conseil de l'Université* at the Sorbonne; this started new and more serious riots. Henceforth, amid the maelstrom of riots and strikes which broke out all over France, Nanterre was relegated to relative obscurity. Even so, it is common knowledge that gangs of Nanterre extremists traveled from university to university and from factory to factory stirring up trouble. And university administration records show slips and bills for non-automatic telephone calls made during the

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student occupation of Nanterre buildings in May-June 1968 to Havana and Tirana.

IV

This account of the Nanterre disturbances may appear too *événementiel*, an annalist's work, which gives undue importance to specific accidents, personal factors, individual decisions, and, in a word, to chance. It is not meaningless, however, to give as accurately as possible a factual and chronological account of developments which have often been misrepresented. On the other hand, I do not ignore the fact that the Nanterre movement is part of a world-wide crisis in the universities, which undoubtedly has deep-seated causes. A more elaborate study ought to explain why a substantial number of students were attracted by revolutionary ideas, well to the left of the orthodox Communist party, why they felt so completely alienated from a society which, though by no means faultless, was relatively prosperous, open, and democratic. It must be plain, too, why so many of the extremists came from well-to-do bourgeois families (it has often been said, not incorrectly, that the May "revolution" was a rising of "spoiled children"). On the other hand, the Nanterre *enragés* numbered 150 on March 22, and 300 at the utmost a few weeks later; they could attract to their meetings 1,000 to 1,500 students, while total enrollment at Nanterre was 12,000. But a large majority of students remained passive; they neither supported the *enragés* nor resisted them; they did not appear seriously shocked by their excesses and observed a neutrality which not infrequently was rather benevolent (and in fact, many sided with the extremists after May 3). It would be foolish to deny that there was widespread malaise in the French student world, which made things easy for the extremists. This malaise can be explained by the very large numbers of students in places like Nanterre and the Sorbonne,[44] by the low in-

[44] This question of numbers is essential: (1) among, let us say, 10,000 students, there unavoidably will be a "critical mass"—say 200 or 300—large enough to start agitation and a "chain reaction"; (2) a large university is an impersonal "learning factory," where feelings of alienation can easily develop; (3) in France, with over 600,000 students in 1968, demonstrations even by a small minority (no more than 60,000 students took part at the same time in the peak demonstrations of May, both in Paris and in the provinces) were bound to be a serious challenge to public order and to the government.

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tellectual level of many of them,[45] and by the widespread anxiety about employment prospects for graduates.

Still, whatever those deep-seated factors, the main theme of this account has been that the Nanterre disturbances resulted mostly from machinations engineered by revolutionary groups, which were largely teleguided from outside and which deliberately resorted to violence and provocation, according to carefully prepared strategy and tactics.

Another important factor was the influence of a faction within the faculty, especially among the sociology lecturers and a handful of professors, who deliberately encouraged and even directed the extremists and who crippled any attempt at response from the administration and from their moderate colleagues.

The systematic use of violence, the intellectual terrorism, the politicization of academic life, and the lowering of academic standards, which appeared first at Nanterre, were the forerunners of the kind of university which revolutionary students and teachers have now almost succeeded in imposing everywhere in France, with the surprising cooperation of the Gaullist regime.[46]

[45] Which made them, not unnaturally, revolt against a system of studies which was far too difficult for them. In this respect the decay of French secondary-school teaching since World War II was a major ingredient of the crisis. And a heavy responsibility rests upon successive governments and ministers of education who failed to understand that it was imperative to impose a check upon admission into universities.

[46] On the situation at Nanterre at the time of writing, see the excellent article by Jean Beaujeu, "Terrorisme et légitime défence," *Le Monde*, Feb. 5, 1969.

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University, Heal Thyself

THEODORE NEWCOMB
University of Michigan

Hardly a week has passed of late without news of an insurrectionary event in an American college or university. How could it happen that so many of "the best students from the best families in the best universities" have turned upon the institutions that have nurtured them? Such a series of events can no longer be regarded as merely local freaks, like a sudden tornado that on a beautiful spring day strikes a single farmhouse and passes on.

How, then, did it happen that in the very halls of learning, where specialists in the understanding of people, institutions, and society are not lacking, there had been so little foreknowledge? Perceptions of these events and reactions to them, both on and beyond the campuses, can perhaps suggest, *post hoc*, frames of mind within which answers to both questions may be sought. At any rate, we, the academicians, have not been notably wise before the events

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universities and colleges, both as influencing and as being affected by changes in contemporary American society. I know less about recent events at Columbia than at certain other campuses, however, and so I shall have in mind similar occurrences across the land, rather than only at Columbia.

American colleges and universities—especially the larger, the more distinctive, and the more respected ones—present an odd paradox. They have had enormous influence upon social change on the national scene, but in certain crucial ways they have not, as institutions, themselves responded to the extended changes that they have done so much to create. An illustration or two will suffice—without, I hope, exaggerating the point.

It has long been alleged that most American colleges exert a "liberalizing" effect upon their students. A critical review of scores of studies[1] lends strong support to the allegation—though cautious interpretation is required. Comparing only responses of the same individuals as freshmen and later as seniors, the later responses are on the average less "conservative"—virtually without exception—on diverse political, economic, and religious issues; they also show less "prejudice" and less "authoritarianism," and increased esthetic interests. Such dependable effects could be interpreted as intensification of trends of the times, since there is some evidence of similar though lesser changes on the part of college-age people not in college. Even so, the net effect of colleges and universities upon the kinds of young people whom they harbor for four years or so is in the direction of broadening and liberalizing.

The preponderance of evidence, moreover, indicates that such changes tend to persist—by one definition, at least. That is, after five or ten years, or even twenty-five, according to one follow-up study,[2] former students' attitudes tend to remain about as they had been at the time of leaving college. Some of those who had changed in college have reverted to their pre-college [illegible] while others seem to have acquired the habit of [illegible]

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University, Heal Thyself

THEODORE NEWCOMB
University of Michigan

Hardly a week has passed of late without news of an insurrectionary event in an American college or university. How could it happen that so many of "the best students from the best families in the best universities" have turned upon the institutions that have nurtured them? Such a series of events can no longer be regarded as merely local freaks, like a sudden tornado that on a beautiful spring day strikes a single farmhouse and passes on.

How, then, did it happen that in the very halls of learning, where specialists in the understanding of people, institutions, and society are not lacking, there had been so little foreknowledge? Perceptions of these events and reactions to them, both on and beyond the campuses, can perhaps suggest, *post hoc*, frames of mind within which answers to both questions may be sought. At any rate, we, the academicians, have not been notably wise before the events.

The University in Society

Society-wide changes can hardly be expected to leave untouched a society's major institutions, including universities. The truism applies *a fortiori* whenever and wherever the changes-at-large are rapid or dramatic or conflict-laden. I shall raise questions about

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universities and colleges, both as influencing and as being affected by changes in contemporary American society. I know less about recent events at Columbia than at certain other campuses, however, and so I shall have in mind similar occurrences across the land, rather than only at Columbia.

American colleges and universities—especially the larger, the more distinctive, and the more respected ones—present an odd paradox. They have had enormous influence upon social change on the national scene, but in certain crucial ways they have not, as institutions, themselves responded to the extended changes that they have done so much to create. An illustration or two will suffice—without, I hope, exaggerating the point.

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[1] T. M. Newcomb and K. A. Feldman, *The Impact of Colleges upon Their Students* (San Francisco, 1969).

[2] T. M. Newcomb *et al.*, *Persistence and Change: Bennington College and Its Students after 25 Years* (New York, 1967).

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change—"keeping up with the times," as some of them phrased it. At any rate, it seems likely that much of the impetus toward social change during the last couple of decades stems from people who were in college a generation or so ago. It is also true that these people were creatures of forces much greater than themselves; my point is simply that, collectively, they also had something to do with creating those forces.

The great majority of these college-educated people, however, did not return to college or university campuses. Such interest as they had in supporting or advancing social change was expressed in local communities, in state or national politics, or in business or industry. If institutions of higher education have been in need of change, their graduates were typically not in a position either to sense the need in any direct way or to do much about it. And those who did stay on, or returned to academia, have usually shown less zeal for change within their institutions than outside them.

Even though, as I have noted, universities cannot forever be immune to widespread changes in their surrounding society, one can make a pretty good case for asserting that there are important trends in America which have so far scarcely touched academia. When I left Columbia just forty years ago, in utterly typical fashion its principal pedagogical features were a system of courses, credits, grades, lectures, and recitations, planned and controlled by faculty members in behalf of their departments and colleges. Today the same features predominate—at Columbia as elsewhere. Administratively, there was a board of trustees, an administrative staff (the identity of whose authoritative chief was a mystery to no one), a set of deans, department chairmen, and faculty members arranged like the rungs on a ladder. If students did not appear on the organization chart, there was nothing strange about that—even to the students themselves. Except for this last observation, it is all about the same today.

Now the surprising thing about this history of stability is that it has not generally been considered at all surprising. By way of further comment, let me quote two social scientists—both professors of industrial management (at MIT) who also served as top administrators in well-known institutions of higher learning. The

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late Douglas McGregor used to say that, as one who had had close familiarity with many industrial corporations and with many colleges and universities, he could unhesitatingly report that there was more authoritarianism and less interest in innovation in higher education than in industry. He could have been wrong, but no one who knew him would have accused him either of initial bias or of lack of information.

Warren Bennis, writing jointly with Philip Slater on problems of rapid social change, asserts in similar vein that "universities have been stubbornly resistant to democratization." In their somewhat special use of the term, democracy is "an institution that increases the power and availability of individuals uncommitted to the *status quo*. . . . Democracy is a superior technique for making the uncommitted [to the *status quo*] more available." Bureaucracy, on the other hand, is associated with "a chain of command structured on the basis of a pyramid," at the top of which are apt to be the *status quo*-committed. Bennis and Slater are no idealizers of industrial organizations, whose structures they also view as generally slow to adapt to social and technological changes. They regard it as no accident, however, that "the beginnings of democratization have appeared most often in industries . . . that depend heavily on invention." At any rate, bureaucracies are least well fitted for adaptation to increasing pressures outside the system—whether industrial or educational.[3]

The role of youth vis-à-vis social change in America is a fascinating topic in itself, as Slater shows. He documents the proposition (citing Tocqueville among others) that, whether or not ours has always been a youth-centered society, its family structure has always been democratic. The requirements of the wilderness, first in seventeenth-century New England and later in the newly settled lands to the West; the dependence of adult immigrants in the nineteenth century upon their children in the new world; the technological changes of the present century, taken in stride by children more readily than by adults—all these have undermined traditions of the authoritarian family. "There has never been a time," Slater concludes, "when a child was not better adapted

[3] W. G. Bennis and P. E. Slater, *The Temporary Society* (New York, 1968), 6.

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than his parents to live in American society, when he was not the bearer of aspirations for a better future." Democratic families contribute to the likelihood of change, because children tend to be "committed to no *status quo* except the democratic family itself";[4] and at the same time the increasing rate of social change makes it more likely that children will be reared in ways that make them susceptible to change.

Such circular processes—though not, of course, the only ones at work—imply continuity, though not necessarily stability. In this case it is a continuity of adaptability to change, but we have little assurance that psychological readiness for change will be matched on all fronts by the actual course of events. If it turns out that pockets of institutional resistance to change appear, stability is hardly to be expected.

The implications of these considerations for "the generation gap" are self-evident. Slater discusses them in terms of cohorts, that is, "classes of individuals who have simultaneously experienced some new set of historical social conditions at an important period of their lives." He offers the interesting proposition that an increase in the number of identifiable cohorts is directly related to the rate of social change, and notes that this rate has so increased that we can now identify increasing numbers of distinguishable cohorts within a period of two or three decades. If we make the reasonable assumption that children born into a recently evolved state of affairs are more likely to take it for granted than are their elders, then in an age like ours the generation gap should be increasingly pronounced.[5]

My two theses may now be combined. A generation gap, probably more pronounced than ever before, now appears in a society in which certain institutions—including universities, presumably existing for the benefit of the young—seem to them to be behind the times. One does not need to assume that contemporary students are aware of what seems to me to be a history of resistance to change. One needs only to recognize that a considerable number of today's students feel that way about it. At any rate, the

[4] *Ibid.*, 42.
[5] *Ibid.*, 23.

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two phenomena together, if indeed they both exist, are potentially explosive.

Understanding Student Rebels

A recent work on higher education in America quotes the following professional lament:

> Indulged, petted, and uncontrolled at home, allowed to trample upon all laws, human and divine . . . [the American student] comes to college but too often with an undisciplined mind, and an uncultivated heart, yet with exalted ideas of personal dignity, and a scowling contempt for lawful authority, and wholesome restraint. How is he to be controlled?[6]

The passage was written in the year 1855; its final question is still with us, but I think its context—and, indeed, its very form—is now inappropriate. Doubtless parents have always complained about their children, teachers about their pupils, and carpenters about their wood. The old adage about poor carpenters applies quite as readily to university administrators and teachers. We are, indeed, confronted by a problem—but we shall solve it by viewing it as such rather than as a hardship unfairly or unreasonably imposed upon us. I do not approach problems as complex as these without my own predilections and biases. One of them is that the notion of "control" is not a helpful one, nor is any other ("winning" or "losing," for example) that frames the problem in terms of adversaries. One likely outcome of such a stance is the fruitless exchange of attributed motives: "they" are simply trying to seize power, or "they" prefer to browbeat "us" rather than facing real issues.

I have, myself, as chairman of a college board of trustees, responded to student displays of force in exactly such manner. I was probably right, in part at least; motives are usually mixed. But I subsequently concluded that "they" were no less right than we, in terms of attributed viewpoints: for example, we, the board, were not indifferent to issues of power and conventional legitimacy. I also concluded that more calm, objectivity, and long-per-

[6] F. Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York, 1965), 105.

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spective judgment was to be expected of the board than of those thirty or forty years our juniors—who, after all, lived in daily familiarity with the issues on their minds, while we dealt with them at a comfortable distance, mostly on formal occasions. In short, we ought to expect ourselves to understand them better than we expect them to understand us.

What is more important, I learned (as did most board members, I think) that the first step toward solution was our acceptance of the possibility that the student grievances were worthy of serious consideration. If, as we had assumed, there were really insurmountable obstacles to the granting of their demands, informed students would be capable of understanding them. If, as they had assumed, our unnecessary recalcitrance was part of the insurmountability, then we, the board, were capable of understanding that.

I make no plea for the simplistic position that "if only the opposed parties would get together and communicate" the problems will dissolve. The problems are too serious for Pollyanna to solve. I do plead for the simple, well-known proposition that an organizational policy of making decisions without participation by those who feel themselves importantly affected by them is an invitation to "trouble." Insofar as the proposition is generally valid, and insofar as it applies to college students, it is "realistic" rather than "idealistic," or simplistic. It is realistic, in particular, insofar as the context of decision-making includes the possibility of actual changes in objective situations—as opposed to assuagement in lieu of actual changes.

I have deliberately included the phrase about applicability to college students, for that is the nub of the present issue. And, since I have rested my case on pragmatic grounds, let me try to face some of the obstacles to genuine policies of participation on the part of students in all decisions that affect them in important ways.

Students, it is commonly said, being immature and inexperienced, are not competent to participate in important decisions that affect the entire institution. Let me concede, at the outset, that "in the heat of battle," students—like their elders—are not very judicious. But it may also be the case that the "battle" would

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never have become heated if student voices had, all along, been both heard and informed.

Vice-President Morris Keeton recounts the following episode:

> Antioch was confronted with a quite extreme problem in achieving a balanced budget. The presence of three students on the Administrative Council and in the budget committee appointed to prepare the budget debate meant that over a period from December to March there was active involvement of students in the exploration of alternative ways to achieve a balanced budget. Finally, the recommendation came in for an increase of tuition and fees in the amount of $272 per student per year. The College survived that decision with little disharmony; but I do not think we could have if there had not been such active and vigorous student participation in the debate.

Dr. Keeton offers illustrations, also, of quite a different nature, making the general point that "because of the prior community commitment, we were able to avoid the ... confrontation and use of civil authorities"[7] experienced elsewhere. (I shall revert to the question of whether policies that are efficacious in a small college are applicable to a large university.)

We can all agree that students—virtually by definition—are immature. But there is no single inference to be inevitably drawn from the truism. Indeed, it should be paired with another saying (applied to presidents of the United States, for example), that "the job makes the man." If we expect presidents to learn on the job, it is no less reasonable that students can respond to invitations to maturity. If their energy is not matched by their wisdom—well, that is precisely the point of *joint* participation with their elders.

I am trying to imagine, as I write, how my friend the Acting President of San Francisco State College would go about it (in January of 1969) to practice what I am preaching. Just how does one jointly participate with organized groups who are issuing *demands*, backed up with disruptive tactics and perhaps by interests quite outside the college or university that are apparently bent on prevailing at all costs? The answer, of course, is that there are times of crisis when sweet reasonableness or even tough bargain-

[7] M. Keeton, "A Productive Voice for Students," in S. S. Letter (ed.), *New Prospects for the Small Liberal Arts College* (New York, 1968), 97.

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ing is not enough. It is equally unconsoling in the throes of crisis, but nevertheless true, that no institution of higher learning is an island unto itself. If other segments of society have impinged upon a university in brutal ways, it is time to launch a belated search for what Muzafer Sherif has termed superordinate goals, common to university and impinging institutions. The identification and pursuit of such goals will necessarily involve joint participation at another level.

Student transience is sometimes mentioned as an obstacle to their participation in decision-making. I regard it as but one facet of their relative lack of experience, with the added consideration that they do not remain long enough to face the consequences of their decisions. Keeton, whom I have already cited, notes that the same can be said of college presidents. Estimating their average tenure as probably less than eight years, he comments further:

> Even the presidents who serve the longest generally leave the consequences of the worst of their years for their successors to bear. In fact, being there to take the consequences of your mistakes is not, in the American tradition, necessary for people to be intrusted with responsibility. What is needed is *fairly continuous evaluation and feedback* on what can be known, as we go through the process, about the way our responsibilities are being exercised. [My italics.][8]

Students' immaturity, to return to my theme, is not an undifferentiated characteristic of every aspect of their lives. Our usual misgivings about fuller partnership with them have to do, I think, more with their inexperience than with still undeveloped intelligence or serious interest in "good education." What I find heartbreaking is that the very behaviors which typically invite our accusations of students' immaturity may have stemmed from their strivings *toward* maturity. As I have already argued, American youth today are increasingly sensitive to the gap between their own and their elders' views of modernity. Their sense of the oppressively heavy hand of the past puts both them and us, their elders, to a test of understanding, and I am not sure that we have met it much better than they.

[8] *Ibid.*

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The Cry for Relevance in Liberal Education

Most of the recent forcible protests, I believe, have mainly involved students in the liberal arts colleges rather than in the professional schools of our universities. Engineers, medics, and students of business or law have serious matters to attend to, directly related to success in their careers; they have well-structured courses of work, and specific kinds of future employers as reference groups. It is also plausible to assume that different kinds of students are self-selected, in advance, for study in arts colleges and in professional schools. At any rate, the former students, as a group, have wider interests and are more directly exposed to a range of "human" and public-policy issues than are the pre-professionals. At the same time they have not, typically, made definite career decisions, or do so later than the professional students, or (in the case of "non-professional" graduate students) they look to the academic world for their future reference groups. It is these students, then, whose states of mind we particularly need to understand.

Mr. John Fischer, referring to "the uproar at Columbia and elsewhere," offers a "case for the rebellious students and their counterrevolution." It is the professors who have "killed liberal education"; hence the student's "accusations of hypocrisy, his disillusionment, and his impulse to throw bricks through classroom windows." Not surprisingly, he quotes Jencks and Riesman (*The Academic Revolution*, 1968)—though he seems to me to oversimplify *their* case:

> The students who expect a "visible relationship between knowledge and action, between the questions asked in the classroom and the lives they live outside it," get instead "pedantry and alienated erudition." Is it any wonder that they are "completely turned off" and convinced that "all systematic and disciplined intellectual effort is a waste of time"?[9]

I do not know how many students make the grand leap described in the preceding sentence, but those to whom I have listened often state a similar case in terms of *relevance*. The term

[9] John Fischer, "The Case for the Rebellious Students and Their Counterrevolution," *Harper's Magazine*, Aug. 1968, p. 11.

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has become overloaded, unfortunately, but it is often used in the context of required courses in which the students' initial disinterest is unaffected by taking the course—or, not seldom, in which he is quite sure, in advance, that it will not be affected, in the manner of the self-fulfilling prophecy. I have sometimes responded to such complaints by asking, How, if you elect only courses which appear relevant, in advance, are you going to acquire new relevancies? (The question, of course, reflects the curriculum-builder's hope and justification in requiring courses.) And I have more than once received an answer (with varying degrees of sophistication) that I cannot lightly dismiss: a good teacher would exploit your present interests, and lead you on to broader ones. I find the answer far from inappropriate. The obstacles to applying the principle inhere not so much in professional rigidity, I think, as in the inelasticity of the system of course sequences and credit hours, either to complete a major or to sample the curricular spectrum. Insofar as student-perceived relevance affects the quality of learning, teachers can contrive to exploit that psychological resource—as, indeed, many of them have done since time immemorial—if they view that as their task and if "the system" leaves them some latitude.

Take, as an example of an academic issue posed in the context of relevance, the current cry for black courses by black teachers for black students. Many colleges and universities are responding to it, but too often only after a period of bitterness or even overt conflict. An established practice of student participation in decision-making might have achieved similar results without a show of force—although not necessarily, in view of the extreme complexities of such issues. Not every plea for relevance is so multi-pronged, however, and I believe that, even in our inevitably bureaucratized universities, procedures might be established by which pleas for curricular relevance could be heard and responded to.

A good many decades ago a prominent educator (was it David Starr Jordan?) wryly observed that the task of changing the curriculum in an established college was like that of moving a cemetery. Let us assume that, even if faculties have long found it easier not to disturb the hallowed bones, they are not altogether rigid. If so, why should there not be an understanding that, in the

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present world of rapid social change, five per cent (or two, or even one) of all courses should be considered as not schedulable during the long gestation period required by an official college announcement—simply because they will have been developed during that period, more in the manner of an annunciation? Or if *something* must be announced, invent a label—such as "Relevance 101-102 (one to five credit hours, topic to be announced)." Parallel arrangements would, of course, be needed for the planning and logistics of proposals, and for some sort of faculty responsibility, to legitimize academic credit. All that is needed, really, is general awareness that the gate is open and that students have a major responsibility for breaking the trail.

Colleges and Universities as Organizations

Many a faculty member, usually without due credit to Louis XIV, has been heard to say, "We *are* the university." Jencks and Riesman do not consider this unwarranted self-praise, and plenty of academic presidents would agree. I, for one, do not relish the Bourbon overtones, perhaps because I half suspect that they are warranted.

My concern, however, is about what I regard as the dilatoriness of American colleges and universities in responding to rapid change, not in pointing the finger of blame. Without further specification of our sins of omission and of commission, I shall concentrate on a single feature of the academic way of life—the kind of organization that we have come to take for granted. Viewed as a type, it is a familiar one—the vertically structured hierarchy. Katz and Kahn, in a particularly knowledgeable overview of such problems—without any special attention to universities—have this to say:

> The formal, hierarchical organization is an instrument of great effectiveness; it offers great economies over unorganized effort; it achieves great unity and compliance. But its deficiencies include great waste of human potential for innovation and creativity, and great psychological cost to its members, many of whom spend their lives in organizations without caring much either for the system (except its extrinsic rewards and accidental interpersonal relationships) or for the goal toward which the system effort is directed. The modi-

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fication of hierarchical organization to meet these criticisms is one of the greatest needs of human life.[10]

If an organization's efforts are devoted mainly toward psychological changes on the part of its members, as ends rather than means to other ends, then conventional notions of efficiency will be subsidiary to those goals. But business firms, for which the means-ends relationship is the other way around, have in general been more ready than universities to question the principle of hierarchical organization as the standard one. Many commercial firms are examining the human processes that go along with different forms of organization and several of them have, in varying ways, de-hierarchized their structures.

Institutions of higher learning have almost certainly been less sensitive to misgivings about their own organizational obsolescence—instead of more so, as one might expect, since much of the impetus toward such changes has come from within universities. Consider our familiar organizational charts—on the academic side, from a president down through deans and department heads to faculty; students do not ordinarily appear on them at all. Consider the mechanics of academic accounting—the meeting of course and degree requirements by examinations, grades, and credit hours. Such modifications as have appeared in either of these respects—the organization of authority or the processing and accounting of students' learning—have usually represented elaboration rather than fundamental change. Mere absence of change is not in itself to be decried, of course, but it does—*especially in a society like ours—suggest the possible wisdom of* re-examination.

The development of the vertical-hierarchical organization in American universities is understandable, particularly in view of the sheer size of most of them. But institutions, large or small, can organize themselves in very different ways, some of which are relatively successful in eliminating the impersonal aspects of a bureaucracy. It is no more difficult, a priori, to carry out the real business of a university—which takes place in the minds and personalities of its members—in settings that engage their

[10] D. Katz and R. L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (New York, 1966), 222.

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active participation than in those that do not. American universities, bearing in mind their "real business" as they grew, might have proliferated horizontally rather than vertically (or hierarchically). Such a policy would have resulted in a succession of new, relatively small units for undergraduates, each becoming distinctive in ways that were appropriate to the timing of its birth. (The Oxbridge model inevitably comes to mind, but I find it unsuitable in many ways for late twentieth-century America.)

While such an organization can facilitate both timeliness and student engagement, it cannot suffice: the form without the spirit is bare. What must accompany the form are initial understandings that allow very great autonomy within the separate-but-equal educational units, especially at first; and, beyond mere permissiveness, provision for genuine participation by all members in each unit—most especially including students. Perhaps such an enterprise could be judged by the speed with which some of its students, aided by administrators and social science teachers, take on the academic task of inquiring into the workings of American colleges and universities—particularly their own. A possible consequence might be a surge of responsible participation in the institutional decisions.

Arrangements that facilitate feedback from students and participation by them in policy decisions are more easily introduced into small colleges than into large universities, as I have often been reminded by colleagues. This, of course, is precisely the point of my insistence that it is the universities' form of internal organization, not sheer size in itself, that has made them relatively impervious to needed kinds of change. If small colleges provide a more nurturant soil for the growth of responsible student participation, it is not because they have an exclusive patent on the soil.[11]

If I may add a note of warning, it is not to be anticipated that the sharing of responsibilities will quell the students' appetites, or lull them into satisfaction. Quite the reverse, in my experi-

[11] I am not unaware that many a small college is about as hierarchical and insensitive to the issues I have raised as any university. I am reminded of Winston Churchill's comment on a hard-of-hearing back-bench member of Parliament who was straining and cupping his ears to hear a very dull speech: Why does he deny himself his natural advantages?

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ence.[12] Processes of adaptation set in, and levels of aspiration rise. A sense of gratitude for being allowed to participate is not to be expected—nor should it be; who wants to bestow thanks for what he considers his due?

If, as I believe, we—administrative and professorial elders—have in our own domain suffered a failure of understanding, there are plenty of plausible explanations. Our roles are distinctive and traditionally complementary to those of students. We view it as our function, almost uniquely, to maintain and to brighten the light of learning, and we have jealously guarded the separation of powers, which has come to imply protection—not only from profane influences without but also from internal interferences. Role distinctions have become associated with power distinctions. Professors are really at the power apex (or so we like to think, and perhaps Jencks and Riesman are right about it), although we gladly delegate the less alluring responsibilities to administrators and trustees. By some such processes, professors and administrators have become the substantial meat in the sandwich, between students and the outside world as the supporting slices of bread. There are other forms of betweenness—for example, the ombudsman role of understanding what lies on either side, and interpreting each to the other.

If universities have inadequately adapted to the pace of social change, I think there is another kind of reason, too. We have been so sure of our efficacy, and perhaps of the concurrent judgment of outsiders, that we have rarely assessed ourselves seriously and systematically. Surely universities represent the largest enterprise in this country that does so little by way of assessing the procedures by which its product is created. Our offices of institutional research attempt little more than educational accounting. We do, of course, take note of our graduates' success in finding important positions in society, thus obtaining a rough index of their achievement—and, by inference, of our own—some years

[12] Students at Antioch College, for whom high levels of participation in decisions of virtually every kind have long been conventional, are still apt to go beyond their peers in other institutions in their demands. Nor are shows of force entirely lacking, which, I might add, are often effective, in the sense of producing results that are eventually more or less acceptable to the community. And the resulting decisions are likely to be made with less delay than would otherwise have been the case—a point that is particularly important to students.

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previously. Each department is jealous of the numbers of its graduates accepted by the "good" graduate schools. The sobering fact is, however, that these indices tell us far more about the kinds of students who enter a college than about what the college has done to them. We know extremely little about the latter, as independent of the former—nor have we tried very hard to find out.

We, the elders (or do I speak only of faculty?), may indeed have been basking in our own relative contentment, enjoying our power and prestige, and not ourselves feeling any special pinch. We're not hurting, and contentment is not a notorious spur to change. From our ranks, however, have come proposals for improving political, economic, and social institutions—even educational ones, but mainly at levels below our own. Why not try it on ourselves?

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Students on the Barricades: Germany and Austria, 1848

PRISCILLA ROBERTSON
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German students in the nineteenth century, like Americans in the twentieth, had periods when serious study was fashionable, other periods when the great thing was collegiate life, rare ones of military enthusiasm, less rare times of romantic artiness, and occasional violent periods of social concern. They went through moods of academic exclusiveness and moods of devotion to the rights of man. Sometimes their reforming zeal was turned toward their own institutions, and sometimes they were out to change the wide world. Sometimes these moods seem to have succeeded each other almost at random, but it is possible to trace a pattern leading up to their highest moment of political involvement, in 1848. It turned out to be the last such moment before 1918, but it was one in which all their passion for liberty and for solidarity with the underprivileged reached a tremendous climax.

I

Perhaps this process began when Fichte addressed his class at the University of Berlin on February 19, 1813: "This course will be suspended until the close of the campaign, when we will resume it in a free fatherland or reconquer our liberty by death." We are told that the young men streamed out of the classroom to join the

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forces fighting to get Napoleon out of German territory; many of them fought and fell in the triumphant battle of Leipzig the following October.

When the survivors came home to their free fatherland, they were in a high state of exhilaration, but, as often happens after wars, the peace failed to live up to their dreams. They found themselves still subjects of thirty separate sovereigns; liberal institutions, though promised, were slow to materialize.

In this mood the *Burschenschaft* was founded. This was to be a widespread student association seeking the elusive ideal of a unified German state with representative institutions. The plan originated at Jena University, in a territory where the Grand Duke allowed free discussion, and by 1816 it had spread to sixteen campuses. The *Burschenschaft* groups emphatically rejected the snobbery of the old student fraternities and proclaimed that they were in favor of democratic integration of all social classes, and they hoped their practice would be a model for all German citizens. They proposed to further this aim by a strict code of personal morality. All foreign observers commented on their sexual continence, and the by-laws of some of their groups called chastity "a national and truly German virtue." They also hoped to turn the duel from an aristocratic rite to a purifying "human" ordeal. A modern sociologist would probably note that these students were, in actual fact, mainly middle class, seeking equality with their social betters under the rubric of equality for all men. (In this they were copying French Revolutionary models.) At this time they did not yet identify with the workers. But they did feel a clear call to discuss public affairs, and explained that in this way they could partly compensate for the lack of proper legislative chambers in their governments.

On October 17, 1817, they put on a memorable festival at the Wartburg, a mountain famed for Luther's stay there, so that it was an appropriate place to commemorate the Reformation as well as the Battle of Leipzig. Four hundred students from a dozen institutions enjoyed a torchlight parade and a huge bonfire in which they burned symbols both of foreign domination and of domestic repression—a corporal's cane, a wig, a copy of the *Code Napoléon*. They were forging a new brand of liberalism, different from French revolutionary and old German feudal notions.

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In 1819 a mediocre poet named Kotzebue, who wrote conservative plays and was thought to be an agent of the Czar, was murdered by an unusually excitable student. Though the assassin is commonly called mad in the textbooks, his fellow students saw him in an aura of exalted idealism, as an exemplar of direct action and of a policy of violence against unheeding government.

To the reactionaries waiting in the wings, this act was all that was needed to justify bringing out the apparatus of repression. Metternich, who had more or less arranged Europe and particularly the German states to suit himself, clamped down previously unheard-of political controls on all universities in the German-speaking world. (These measures were embodied in the Carlsbad decrees.) Each institution was to have a special official in residence, to sit in on lectures and watch the spirit in which classes were taught, without of course interfering in scholarship or in the methods of instruction. But all teachers with the wrong spirit, especially those who had been close to the *Burschenschaft*, were removed and blacklisted. The General *Burschenschaft* itself was suppressed as an inter-university association, and, although separate clubs continued to carry the name, they were forbidden to communicate with similar groups at other institutions.

It is generally agreed that a mood of romantic conservatism followed. This was the period when Stendhal commented that civilization was arrested in Germany, by the universities first of all, where the students drank and dueled instead of studying; and he thought this practice was encouraged by the various governments to build up German sentiment. The judgment of a contemporary Englishman, William Howitt, is more credible as to the motive, that when the students tried to throw off their club life and adopt enlightened ideals, they were violently forced back and reduced to merely drinking toasts to freedom.

At this time the old fraternities, now called *corps*, were reinstituted for the rich and nobly-born students, while the *Burschenschaft* societies served the same needs for the middle-class boys who were sons of Lutheran ministers, small tradesmen, and well-to-do peasant proprietors. Naturally some students remained unaffiliated, a group which was (somewhat later in the century) characterized as consisting of "Poles, Jews, often disreputable types, the type that drifts into socialism." In other words, not the

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sort the *Burschenschaft* members wished to be equal to. Still, the *Burschenschaft* cherished the feeling that it was still devoted to some ideals, and that the corps represented "a type of base life among students, animated by no sense of patriotism." But even the *Burschenschaften* were conservative at this time.

The first new liberal group, called Germania, founded at Erlangen in 1827, soon put out feelers to other universities in spite of the ban. This liberalism of the thirties, never adopted by a majority, was a romantic international cosmopolitan liberalism; this was the time when a high-minded student would wish to fight for Poland. It was also a time of another big festival, at Hambach, in 1832, where students demanded a German republic even if they had to get it by violence.

Gradually this mood, too, wore off, and a more intense, popular, and nationalistic movement for "Progress" began among the unincorporated students at Göttingen. This was taken up by a part of the *Burschenschaft* which now split into a liberal and a conservative wing. Once more the call went out to break down the barriers between German citizens. Poland did not count. A special faction called the *Burgkeller*, at Jena, urged communication among students of different universities and with different classes of citizens.

About this time the Duke of Wellington remarked that it was "curious that all the mischief of Germany seems to have its rise in the universities, while in [England] we look to [them] and to the state of feeling there as one of our main sources of security." The good duke was inclined to blame the mischief on the neglect of religion, the dependence of German professors on their lecture fees, and the absence of residential colleges. We, looking back, might feel the political condition of Germany was at least equally responsible, together with the different social class from which German students came.

Academic freedom received lip service in increasing measure, but often seemed hollow when incidents which violated it abounded. For instance, when the Grimm brothers, having been dismissed from Hanover for political reasons, were called to Berlin, the Berlin students organized a torchlight procession on one of their birthdays. The Grimms happened to have as a guest Hoffmann von Fallersleben, author of "Deutschland über Alles," and

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the students cheered him loudly. A number of students were expelled for this *faux pas*—the government of Prussia did not take kindly to this demonstration in favor of a united Germany—and they were sickened to hear that the Grimms had apologized to the *government.*

The situation was obviously working up to a climax, which came in March 1848, when, following an outbreak at Paris, there were revolutions in nearly every German state. The *Burschenschaft* colors of black, red, and gold became the colors of German unity everywhere, and the newly elected parliament of the German people at Frankfort contained 150 members of the old *Burschenschaft.* So the young students rushed into the fray feeling equal to any opportunity that the crisis should open up. In fact, they created "March demands" themselves.

II

Their first clashes were with the police; in some university towns such as Göttingen, the bitterness of these led to a cry that the students be armed. Since this was part of a general liberal demand, continent-wide, for the arming of citizens and the creation of national or civic guards, the students' wish was nearly always gratified. Carl Schurz gives the impression that at Bonn, where he was a student, the affair amounted to little more than a chance to joke, drink, and clank their swords along the pavement, and if possible face down their adult co-guardsmen.

They also seized the chance to try to update their own universities; the first measure that came to mind was to arrange a new "Wartburg" festival. The call went out originally from the conservative wing of the *Burschenschaft* at Jena, but after it had been picked up by the liberal *Burgkeller* it took a more serious tone. This time there were to be no fine speeches, no oaths, no freedom songs, no tears, no bonfires, only sober parliamentary discussion of specific demands. The agenda had three planks: the universities should no longer be tied to their separate states but should be under a national authority; unconditional freedom of learning and teaching; and the elimination of the special legal code for students which "separates the people from its educated youth." This code allowed for dueling, but other provisions had

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often been used against students because of their political opinions. The conference was to meet at Eisenach, in June 1848.

The Jena students had expected to dominate the conference, but had not reckoned with the railroads which had so changed the face of Germany since 1817 that large numbers of Austrians and students from the east were able to get there. The heroes of the occasion were actually fresh from barricades, in Berlin—or Vienna. The conference consisted of about 1,200 delegates from all but three German universities, and also from Vienna.

The first item for debate was almost equally a matter of politics and of education. Like nearly all intellectuals at the time, the students were eager for the various small states to be united into a single fatherland; even if this political consummation did not come about, they wanted a central educational authority which would allow them to be *German* students at *German* universities, instead of, for example, Saxon students at a Bavarian university. Since, paralleling their own conference, a big democratically elected Parliament of the German People was sitting at Frankfort to consider precisely the formation of a liberal and democratic Germany, they had reasonable ground to hope they were not talking in a vacuum.

Before 1806 the German universities had enjoyed considerable autonomy; eighteenth-century professors could call whom they would to their chairs, and then they might freely teach. Under this system, Kant's ideal of the university as a place where even the state could be criticized was possible. Since the Napoleonic wars, however, the schools had been under strict political control. In 1848 there were few to advocate the restoration of the old self-limited freedoms of universities, since most were so in love with the ideal of a new democratic and powerful state that they did not imagine it could possibly threaten academic freedom. On the other hand, they saw in separate corporations and separate autonomies a violation of the principle of a society that was supposed to consist of equals. They did not realize that precisely these chartered institutions are often guardians of liberty against the tyranny of equality. The students voted for national control, for free movement to any school of a student's choice, and for the government to pay some larger share of the bill than formerly—particularly, that it should pay the fees of the lowest grade of

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faculty members, the *Privatdozenten*, hitherto living from the attendance fees at their lectures.

By "freedom of learning" the students meant free admissions policies and more representation for themselves in the governance of universities. They wished to abolish totally the strict state-administered examination of graduates of *gymnasien*, which controlled entrance to the higher schools and which they felt made university entrance a kind of rat race. They pointed out that it could be used to punish heretical thinking in candidates. While they were about it, they also voted to abolish semester exams and the administration of civil service examinations by the schools. They also wanted new subjects such as political economy to be taught, and recommended that the faculties have less rigid dividing lines. Lastly, they demanded student representation in the choice of the rector and the governing committees.

As regards the special legal code for students, its abolition was the key point in the "Progress" movement at this Eisenach convention. Its majority was significantly smaller than that for the nationalism clause, but it did pass. Closest to the hearts of most students was the right to duel, a special privilege allowed to no other civilians. (The fencing master at Jena received a higher salary than the head professor.) But since they were committed to a society of equals, and since the special jurisdiction had in fact often been used against students for their political opinions, they voted to ask the Frankfort Parliament, which was drawing up a draft constitution for a German empire, to include a clause abolishing the student exceptions. The Frankfort constitution, in the end, came out for academic freedom in a bland way, but said nothing whatsoever about financing universities or about abolishing the special jurisdiction.

It is interesting to compare the student convention at Eisenach with one held for university faculty members at Jena in September of the same year. The professors, too, were concerned with the problem of democracy inside their institutions; especially the bright young scientists and the *Privatdozenten* wanted to break the stranglehold which the full professors and their academic senates had on all university decisions. Young men were often kept for years from promotion. In the spring of 1848 a hundred low-ranking faculty members at Berlin had petitioned for representa-

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tion on their academic senate; the government, working together with high-ranking faculty who were paid by the state, issued a decree forbidding any Prussian university from sending official delegates to Jena. Still, eighteen other universities were represented.

Just as the students had scrutinized the question of university autonomy from national control, and in spite of the fact that it seemed far more doubtful than it had in June that the new big state would be liberal, the professors, like the students, voted against restoration of the ancient university autonomy. Only the Prussians (for some Prussian faculty members had attended as observers) cast doubt on this resolution, with a sharper look at the possibility that arbitrariness might be a function of any government, not only of the small officious tyrannies the men from the smaller states were thinking of. The faculty did *not* favor having the state pay the *Privatdozenten*, and they did not favor having students on the governing committees of the university, though they made an ambiguous plea for wider representation of lower-ranking professors. When the Jena Academic Senate issued the final report of the convention, they watered down the clauses that had been voted for representation of associate professors and *Privatdozenten* in electing the rector and committees. The academic senates, however much opposed to special privileges for students or corporations, kept a very tight grip on their own reins of power.

At the same time that students were trying to get some democracy into their own universities, their real heroes were those students who had fought on the barricades to get democracy into their governments.

Although less organized than many students into corps or *Burschenschaften*, Berlin university men were sharply divided into democratic and reactionary political groups. The democrats, the smaller fraction, had made a point of befriending the workers, and had made serious efforts to get gifted proletarians admitted to the university, so that they could become cultivated and well-rounded human beings. When the barricades went up on March 19, at least a hundred students were on them, although legend has exaggerated the number. To get support, these students went to fetch the workers out of the machine shops; the workers, after

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carefully collecting their weeks' wages, came back cheerfully with their young friends.

The Berlin workers were better organized and more radical than in many other German towns, but a few Berlin students went so far beyond them that in the long run they lost the workers' confidence. Probably the most radical of all the students in the 1848 revolutions was Gustav Adolf Schöffel. Perhaps he should be called a non-student, since he had been expelled from Heidelberg in February for distributing Communist literature to the Odenwald peasants. Arriving in Berlin with the intent to matriculate there, he was overtaken by the revolution and immediately set to organizing in the fashion suggested to him by history. He got out a paper in imitation of Marat's of 1792, entitled *Volksfreund* (compare *Ami du Peuple*) and dated it "Year One of Freedom." Next he tried to organize a march on the palace, hoping that sixty thousand demonstrators would appear for it, but when only 1,500 showed up he decided the workers were too indolent to respond to his program to destroy capital, to unite as brothers, and to "clear away the bayonets of the middle class citizens guard." Then, when he suffered six months' imprisonment without any notable expression of support from his fellow students, his disillusionment was complete. He went off to the last revolutionary battles in Baden, where he was killed the following year.

III

In Vienna the students were not so sophisticated nor so radical as the extreme Berliners, but they had a more sustained and successful period of power. They took over management of the whole city for months, and the organization they created was defeated only by an army, for regular troops were sent to besiege the city.

Vienna was the only town where the revolution was actually started by student action; elsewhere the students tagged on to a movement begun by others. A group of Viennese medical students conceived the idea of sending a petition to the sovereign after they heard of the overthrow of Louis Philippe in Paris. It was a delicate matter to pick exactly the right tone, since petitions were a rarity under the Hapsburgs; some expressions they considered too bold, some too grovelling, but at last they hit on a "manly" one

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that seemed just right, and told the Emperor that freedom is the strongest bond between a monarch and his people. Their ideology was liberal, not radical, and they asked for the standard liberal demands of the period, free press, free speech, a constitution, and, of course, academic freedom.

Realizing that the situation was explosive, the police, instead of going after the young men themselves, called upon the professors and ordered them to make the "criminal youth" come to terms. By this time enthusiasm in all the schools was too great to be curbed by anybody; as the students swarmed into the hall where the petition was to be signed, one remarked that this was the first time students had given orders to faculty. The professors, he added ironically, thought the world had come to an end and that they would now be expected to give high grades all around.

The petition was not answered, so it was decided to have a demonstration. According to the poet Grillparzer, the students were put at the head of the demonstration because they were the only citizens willing to pull hot chestnuts out of the fire.

When some troops fired on the mob, killing as their first victim an eighteen year-old mathematician, the students cried out that they must have arms or they would tear down the armory to get them. The weakening government gave in, and ordered arms issued to anyone who could prove himself a *bona fide* student by answering in Latin.

Thus was formed the Academic Legion, in the words of their chaplain, "the finest youth that ever walked the earth."

As the government abdicated its functions, and eventually the imperial family fled, the administration of the city of Vienna fell into the hands of a committee largely consisting of members elected by various companies of the Legion. It is true that in May conservative Viennese were demanding that the whole university should be closed and the students sent home, but this only led the students to a new determination to defend themselves. The chaplain went out and brought ten thousand workers from outside the city walls to aid them, and when the National Guard went over to the students, all resistence ceased and for the rest of the summer the students had their own way.

In the great hall of the university, the Aula, they set up headquarters where students, exhausted by their patrol duties, could

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find food and drink and where they "extended fraternization to girls," as a shocked member of what would now be called the Old Left, a member of the previous puritanical generation, noted. The food, drink, and parties were paid for by sympathetic citizens, many of whom volunteered as foster parents for young men whose own parents had cut off their allowances.

Besides keeping order in the city by their patrols, the students offered all kinds of services to their worker friends—medical students setting up a program of medical care, legal students offering their help in labor arbitration and in other legal matters, other students delivering welfare services and taking up collections. The workers responded with touching devotion. A group of the poorest offered to contribute a *kreutzer* a day out of their wages to help maintain the Legion; later on they acted as body guards. "If one of our men falls, it is no matter, but for one of the fine young student gentlemen, to whom we owe our freedom, it would be a great pity."

The problem the young administrators could not solve was the economic crisis, and by fall there was a distinct falling off of the Legion as the more conservative students resigned. At the end of September the Legion was divided, undisciplined, and had turned into something of a mob. Nevertheless, when the army came against the city in October, it organized a stiff defense and fought bravely against hopeless odds.

IV

At Munich in 1848 things were different, partly because Bavaria was Catholic and reactionary and partly because of the role of the King's mistress, Lola Montez. A year earlier, a group of professors had been dismissed for opposing the system of government, and Lola is said to have interceded for some of them. But she was seen wearing a student cap from one of the corps (the corps, rather than the *Burschenschaft*, had been encouraged at Munich as part of the conservative tone); the young men caught in the cap-episode were expelled from their corps, Palatia. They immediately formed a new, anti-traditional corps, Alemannia. Lola bought uniforms for them and, it was whispered, got their relatives good jobs in the civil service. This was intolerable to the old established corps, who

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rioted and harassed the Alemannia students in and out of the classrooms. Finally the other corps told the rector they would rather be dissolved themselves than have Alemannia continue on campus. The situation got so bad that the King ordered the university closed, but many students lacked funds to get home, and the citizens who lived off student boarding and lodging fees were desperate. The order was at last rescinded, the King yielded, and Lola fled—and all this happened just in time for the Munich students to take part in the general excitements of March 1848.

They proved their basic conservatism, however, in their lack of sympathy for the workers who appealed for their help. The *Schusterbuben* of Munich wanted to place themselves under student protection in demanding better working conditions from their masters, and were stiffly refused.

V

The *Burschenschaften* disappeared in the fifties, and students lost their taste for rebellion. The student association created at Eisenach disappeared; one explanation was that such a large body failed to yield the satisfactions that small fraternal groups did. Academic freedom did prosper mightily to be sure, but at the same time state control became more subtle. Later on a Frenchman who visited German universities commented that from all the academic freedom of Germany came the most docile group of students he had even seen, and that he never caught a skeptical smile on the face of any of them at any lecture.

For a general opening up of the freedom fought for in 1848, Germans had to wait until the twentieth century.

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Language and Politics: An Afterword

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Student rebellion and the rule of law; student rebellion as part of the swirling social movements of our time; student rebellion as political expression and as object of political analysis; student rebellion as a manifestation of youth culture; student rebellion now and in time past—we have examined the rebellions at Columbia, Nanterre, and elsewhere in all of these contexts, and it would seem hard to believe that there may be other angles from which to view the matter, significant lessons other than those already drawn from the events that have been described.

And yet, of course, there are. An Afterword is a final word without being the last word, and so it may not be presumptuous to add still another thought to those already presented—another thought and another hope.

One is uneasy at using the word "order" these days, uneasy because—so political has its meaning become—he runs the risk of being stoned by the faction that hates the word and of being clasped to the bosom of the faction that conjures with it to ward off the terror and the evil of change. It is true, as E. M. Forster once wrote, that many of those who speak in praise of order confuse it with orders, and it is true that many of those who disparage order confuse it with repression. But it is also true that order—one dares at last to use the word in the hope that it will not be too heavily freighted with the connotations of contemporary politics—may

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mean the peace that is achieved rather than the silence that is imposed, creation rather than regulation. A work of art, Forster says—and surely he would not object to a generous definition of the term—

> is the only material object in the universe which may possess internal harmony. All the others have been pressed into shape from outside, and when their mould is removed they collapse. The work of art stands up by itself, and nothing else does. . . . It is the cry of a thousand sentinels, the echo from a thousand labyrinths; it is the lighthouse which cannot be hidden. . . .

"The lighthouse which cannot be hidden"—the image recurs in Forster's essays, an image of a solitary, beleaguered place, producing the very light that illuminates the enemy sea that threatens to engulf it. The sanctuaries of thought and sensitivity that stand on the occasional high ground that rears up from the surrounding sea represent, for Forster, the victory of order over chaos:

> Looking back into the past, it seems to me that that is all there has ever been: vantage grounds for discussion and creation, little vantage grounds in the changing chaos, where bubbles have been blown and webs spun, and the desire to create order has found temporary gratification, and the sentinels have managed to utter their challenges, and the huntsmen, though lost individually, have heard each other's calls through the impenetrable wood, and the lighthouses have never ceased sweeping the thankless seas.

At its best—and before some critic crows let me admit that it has not always been at its best—the university has been just such a vantage ground. And now that vantage ground has been invaded. The invader is not the students, not ever the students, not even when they are rebellious. The invader is the rage and violence that threaten the only enduring order that we have created. Nowhere are that rage and violence more visible than in the language and behavior that make victims rather than colleagues of those against whom they are directed.

The university is a vantage ground for discussion, but it cannot be so when language is such as to create a foreordained response, especially when that response is calculated to establish a political situation, not to probe the darkness that surrounds us all. "To speak pidgin to a Negro makes him angry," wrote Frantz Fanon,

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> because he himself is a pidgin-nigger-talker. But, I will be told, there is no wish, no intention to anger him. I grant this; but it is just this absence of wish, this lack of intent, this indifference, this automatic manner of classifying him, imprisoning him, primitivizing him, decivilizing him, that makes him angry.

How much greater the sin when the imprisoning, the primitivizing, and the decivilizing are the intended results of a political strategy which manipulates words not to create order, but as prologue to the manipulation of people. "The meaning of a word or phrase is not its dictionary equivalent," the anthropologists tell us, "but the difference its utterance brings about in a situation." Language is an instrument for action—and those who know history, or Orwell, are aware that it may be used consciously for the attainment of political ends. "Political language. . .," Orwell said, "is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable. . . ."

Violence of language is not an expression of exuberance nor of simply hostility alone; it is the portent of the violent deeds to come. Writing in justification of their invasion of the classroom of Professor James P. Shenton of Columbia University, a group of students made clear that their target was not Shenton "as an individual; rather, we aim to criticize our insane, repressive and inhumane society. Within our society the University serves as an 'Officers' Candidate School,' socializing tomorrow's leaders. . . . It is precisely because [Shenton] is a 'good teacher' and a 'nice' fellow that he is dangerous."[1] Their words read like a gloss on an earlier text: "Hypocrisy and Pharisaism rule. They are the most conspicuous characteristic of society today. . . . Nothing could be more lying than the so-called morals of society." And believing his words, their author, Ernst Röhm, founder of the SA, went on to act them out.

That action follows language is not the issue here; if it did not, then words would indeed be hollow. What matters is that hyper-

[1] This quotation and others relating to the same incident are taken from a three-page mimeographed statement entitled "A Response to Questions about Classroom Intervention." A copy of that statement has been placed on file, together with similar materials used by Louis and Mary Lusky, in the library of the Columbia Law School.

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bole is incompatible with analysis, violence of language with the order necessary for discussion and creation.

Neither is it the profanity of words that matters, but the profanation of the objects against which they are directed. For the ritual profanation of objects of respect makes victims of us all, both the scorned—who from being targets of contempt become objects of abuse—and the scorner, the very violence of whose acts commits him more deeply to the course he has chosen. Shenton's radicalism, wrote the students, "conceals the reality of his role. He accepts a position within the existing hierarchy. He lives the status of 'professor' and thereby perpetuates the inferior status of the student and the custodian. . . ." He is, in short, stripped of all attributes save status, an attribute less likely than others to create attachments of warmth and affection. The Perfectionists of the Oneida community—who also knew the truth—were equally disapproving of "idolatrous attachments"; one who could not restrain his affection for another was called, contemptuously, the "respecter of persons."

And, to be sure, to those who know the truth the respecter of persons is to be scorned—and perhaps also to be feared—because the strength of his commitment has not yet been tested.

But the strength of his commitment can be tested—and, indeed, the respecter of persons may be converted into a disrespecter of persons—by involving him precisely in such acts of ritual profanation. To participate in a rite that outrages the moral sense of the community is to make an outcast—and sometimes an outlaw —of the participant, to leave him with no source of social support except the group which is now willing to accept him because he has demonstrated his willingness to perform an act that cuts him off from the larger community. The leaders of sectarian movements —both religious and secular— have long been aware of the meaning of such rites; their significance is that as they initiate the participant into the movement they expel him from the society. There could hardly be a better test of commitment, or a better guarantee against lapsing.

Nor could there be a more powerful mechanism for enhancing belief, for strengthening commitment. Replying to the charge that their invasion of Professor Shenton's classroom "demonstrated

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disrespect for both the professor and fellow students," the invading students replied:

> Such norms (as falling silent when the professor speaks, accepting his control of the discussion, refraining from writing on the blackboard, not entering or leaving the classroom except at prescribed times, not discussing "personal" matters, etc.) serve to perpetuate the existing system and its inhumanity and injustices. All norms are inherently restrictive. . . . In transforming the existing system it will be necessary for people to free themselves from such norms of etiquette.

". . .it will be necessary for people to free themselves from such norms of etiquette"—the words are more than an expression of aggression; they are a prescription—a tactic—for the intensification of belief. For it has long been known that to act a role sympathetic to the point of view of the participants in some mass event increases the likelihood that the actor will be converted to that point of view even if, at the outset, he does not accept it. Action produces belief. And it has been known for at least as long that public and costly action taken on the basis of a belief—such as the deliberate violation of such "norms of etiquette" as may end in expulsion from a university—results in an intellectual and emotional investment so great that the actor, unable to extricate himself from the consequences of his own belief, becomes irrevocably committed. In the *Novum Organum* Francis Bacon observed:

> . . . the human understanding, when any proposition has been once laid down (either from general admission and belief, or from the pleasure it affords), forces everything else to add fresh support and confirmation; and although most cogent and abundant instances may exist to the contrary, yet either does not observe or despises them, or gets rid of and rejects them by some distinction, with violent and injurious prejudice, rather than sacrifice the authority of its first conclusions.

And this is so even in the face of evidence that may challenge his belief. Having begun by believing a little and having committed himself by acting on that belief, the actor ends by believing too much, by being unable to "sacrifice the authority of" his "first conclusions." But in a university—that "vantage ground for discussion and creation"—what can be discussed and what can be created if the authority of first conclusions cannot be sacrificed?

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"Up against the wall, motherfucker. This is a stickup" is a cry of rage. It is, therefore, a tactic in the politics of unreason and violence, for it commits its advocates to a position from which they can neither return nor depart.

And now we can catch a glimpse of what the searchlights momentarily reveal as their fingers of light probe the darkness that weighs upon the heavy sea. It is the curse of the Grand Inquisitor, the fearful sight of people brought "face to face with such marvels and insoluble mysteries, that some of them, the fierce and rebellious," are destroying "themselves, others, rebellious but weak," are destroying "one another, while the rest, weak and unhappy," crawl fawning to those who, in the name of freedom, deprived them of freedom, and whine to them: " 'Yes, you were right, you alone possess this mystery, and we come back to you, save us from ourselves.' "

Recalling London when the news of the Munich pact was received, Forster wrote: "Peace flapped from the posters, and not upon the wings of angels." And still it does not flap upon the wings of angels nor yet, sadder still to say, does it beat in the hearts of men. How can it, when words kill?

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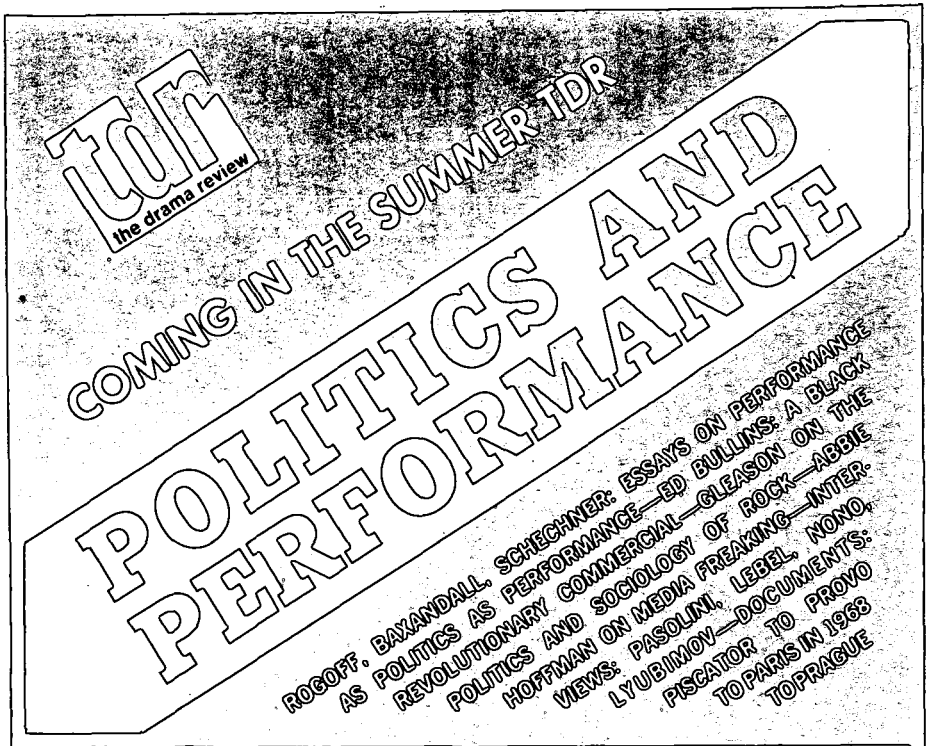

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